University of Alberta

Code-switching repertoires in the language classroom: Contextualization and the enactment of shared perceptions in the talk of language learners

by

Wendy Tiemer

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

in

Applied Linguistics

Department of Modern Languages & Cultural Studies

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 2004

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Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 0-612-95661-X
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 0-612-95661-X

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Acknowledgement

This study was funded in 2003-2004 by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, in the form of a Canadian Graduate Scholarship, and was originally titled "Benefits of classroom code-switching: breaking through pedagogical misjudgement". I acknowledge and thank SSHRC for their support.

Thanks also to Michael Kers for his technical assistance with the data collection, transcription, and preparation of the digital manuscript.

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1 *Introduction: The use of the first language and code-switching in the language classroom*

Many language learners, language instructors, and researchers of second language acquisition believe that use of the first language (L1) and/or code-switching (CS) should be minimized in the language classroom. In general, learners' and instructors' language attitudes towards L1/CS use in the classroom are negative or, at best, neutral (cf. Zentella 1981; Macaro 2001; Cook 2001; Turnbull 2001). Many second language acquisition studies and language pedagogies discourage or altogether ignore the classroom use of L1/CS (Doyle 1986; Duff & Polio 1990; Polio & Duff 1994; Willis 1996), thus reinforcing the "monolingual bias of the language teaching profession" (Blyth 1995: 145; cf. Romaine 1995; Cook 2001).

Nevertheless, linguistic research in non-classroom bilingual communities has demonstrated that CS can function as a positive communicative resource. Although its functions, motivations, and potential value are not unproblematic to researchers nor speakers, we know that, in ideal conditions, CS allows for a wider range of connotation, different modes of contextualization, and subtle expression of multiple identities (Poplack 1979/80; Gumperz 1982; Auer 1988; Milroy & Li Wei 1995; Zentella 1997; Sebba & Wootton 1998).

Interestingly, conversational data of the group interaction of intermediate and advanced classroom language learners indicate that these learners switch between English (L1) and German (L2) in a similar fashion and for similar functions as do bilinguals in non-classroom communities (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2004). It seems possible that CS could have the same positive effects and meaning potential in the classroom as it does in non-classroom bilingual settings. This potential is beginning to be demonstrated by researchers (Blyth 1995; Swain & Lapkin 2000; Cook 2001), but is far from being widely accepted.

As such, the goal of this study is to contribute to this debate with conversational data which demonstrate that classroom language learners use CS as a positive communicative resource with the same discursive functions used in non-classroom communities. Questionnaire results and self-reports further illustrate that learners develop a complex set of language choice practices which reflect their attitudes towards CS. This set of practices enables learners to efficiently communicate details about their orientations to the interaction. These findings suggest that the use of CS and L1 in the classroom is not inherently detrimental to learners' acquisition of L2.

2 *Code-switching in non-classroom settings: Definitions and findings*

2.1 Definitions of code-switching

In this study, code-switching is defined as "(part of a) verbal action, the alternating use of two or more 'codes' within one conversational episode" (Auer 1998: 1).[1] Clearly situated as part of and inseparable from interaction, CS is seen as a conversational resource which often conveys social meaning. Collapsed into this understanding of CS are different language learning and language contact phenomena, including interlanguage interference (Fuller 1999), transfer and triggering (Clyne 1985: 204-205), borrowing (Poplack & Sankoff 1984), language convergence (Gumperz 1982: 85; Auer 1998: 14) , and the use of CS as a mixed code or as a "consistent code of its own" (Franceschini 1998: 61; cf. Auer 1998, 1999). For researchers wishing to determine cognitive motivations of CS, it may be crucial to differentiate between these various phenomena and to be able to "distinguish community-wide from individual, and perhaps idiosyncratic, behaviour" (Poplack 1988: 216); such a broad definition of CS would be unacceptable for these researchers (Poplack 1988; cf. Clyne 1987). But with a focus on the functions of CS (*how* speakers switch and *how* these switches are interpreted by interlocutors), it is necessary to consider all instances of language alternation, regardless of why they were produced.[2] Especially in a community of language learners, even switches due to interference may, "through use, acquire social, discourse or referential meaning" (Heller 1988: 4; cf. Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2004: 506) and their significance should not be disregarded.

[1] The 'codes', in this case, are two distinct languages. Other kinds of CS include alternation between two varieties (e.g. standard and dialect), styles (e.g. formal and informal), or registers (Wardhaugh 1998: 86).

[2] The terms 'code-switching' (CS) and 'language alternation' are used interchangeably in this thesis.

Not only do scholarly perspectives of what constitutes CS vary widely: CS is manifested in and interpreted differently by each bilingual community (Heller 1988:2), making CS an undeniably "fuzzy-edged construct" (Gardner-Chloros 1995: 70).

2.2 Code-switching research in non-classroom settings

Research on CS in non-classroom bilingual settings has dealt with an almost infinite variety of CS behaviours. This research has been conducted from grammatical, cognitive, and sociolinguistic perspectives, and includes studies of grammatical constraints for combining the two codes (Pfaff 1979; Poplack 1979/80; Joshi 1985; Myers-Scotton 1995); discussions of how code-switched input and output are processed (de Bot 1992; Grosjean 1997); and studies of community- and/or network-wide patterned use of two codes, which results in interactionally meaningful CS (Blom & Gumperz 1972; Poplack 1988; Milroy & Li Wei 1995). In addition, there are models that attempt to explain and predict CS behaviour based on these grammatical, cognitive, and sociolinguistic features (Poplack 1979/80; Muysken 1995; Myers-Scotton & Jake 1995), and interactional studies of CS, which examine how CS is used as a conversational meaning-making resource and contextualization cue (Auer 1984, 1988, 1995, 1998; Li Wei 1998, 2002).

The present study employs the latter approach, examining CS from an interactional perspective. The CS functions on which this approach focuses may be divided into two broad groups: participant-related switching and discourse-related switching (Auer 1984, 1988, 1995, 1998).[3] While participant-related

[3]Auer's framework also differentiates between 'code-switching' (language alternation that occurs at a point in conversation but does not have a clear end in sight) and 'transfer' (language alternation occurring in conjunction with a structure: the switch is clearly temporary and the

alternation says something about the speaker (e.g. indicating competence or language preference), discourse-related alternation says something about the interaction, and serves to organize conversation (Auer 1988: 192, 199).

Participant-related alternation often functions as a strategy speakers use to compensate for individual lexical and/or structural gaps in one of the codes. Due to temporary lack of access, incomplete knowledge, or for untranslatable lexical items, speakers insert words or phrases from the other code. Participant-related switching of these kinds has been found in classroom settings (Zentella 1981: 120-28; Lüdi 2003: 176; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2004: 508-9) as well as non-classroom settings (Poplack 1988: 226; Zentella 1997: 97; Auer 1998: 6; Lüdi 2003: 179, 182-83). More frequently, however, CS is used as a discourse strategy by bilingual speakers in non-classroom settings (this is called discourse-related alternation). The discursive functions of CS include situational switching, CS as an interaction-internal contextualization, and CS as a way to signal the speaker's orientation to the interaction.

Speakers may switch codes at some perceptible change in the interaction (situational switching): changes in participant constellation (Milroy & Li Wei 1995; Zentella 1997), topic (Vasseur 1990 [cited in Lüdi 2003: 179]), or activity type (Gumperz 1982: 60) may coincide with a change in code. As Blom & Gumperz (1972/2000: 126) point out, such a "notion of situational switching assumes a direct relationship between language and the social situation".[4] Part of bilingual speakers' communicative competence is "[k]nowing the alternatives and the rules for appropriate choice" of code (Saville-Troike 2003: 42); that is, knowing which situations are associated with which codes.

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speaker returns to Code 1 after switching for a word or sentence in Code 2). This aspect of the framework is not relevant to this study and, as such, the differentiation between transfer and code-switching is not made.

[4]It is important to note that although Gumperz's concept of situational switching assumes a direct relationship between situation and language, he does not intend this to be a predictive model (Gumperz 1982: 66).

CS may also be used to contextualize a conversational structure – to convey discursive meaning that may be conveyed with another contextualization cue.[5] For example, speakers may use CS to mark off a quotation (Gumperz 1982: 76; Poplack 1988: 227), for repair sequences (Zentella 1997: 85; Auer 1998: 4-5), to indicate preference (Li Wei 1998: 164-65), or to compete for turns (Li Wei 1998: 166). In all of these cases, the contrast between the two codes provides a structure for the utterance, signalling to interlocutors that the speaker is doing something other than on-topic talk (Bailey 2001: 240). The switch occurs for contrastive purposes and the direction of the switch is not significant.

In other cases, the direction of the switch may have significance, and the switch takes on social or referential meaning. Meaning-making, in these cases, is contingent on interlocutors' shared perceptions of the values associated with each code. Although the social situation of the interaction has not changed, by switching to the other code, the speaker evokes the values associated with this code (Blom & Gumperz 1972/2000: 127) and thus signals her orientation to the interaction (this is often called metaphorical switching). Switches such as these may create contrast between personalized and objective statements (Gumperz 1982: 80) or, a speaker may exploit the 'authoritativeness' of one code over another. For example (Gumperz 1982: 92), a Chicana mother calls to her children: the switch from Spanish to English – "*Ven acá* (come here). Come here, you." – is interpreted as a warning, whereas the switch from English into Spanish – "Come here. *Ven acá.*" – is seen rather as softening the request.

Gumperz (1982: 66) hypothesized that when there is, among a group of

[5]Prevignano (2003: 67) points out that "*human agents do not simply act, but are also accustomed to signaling or cueing the types of act/action/activity they are engaging in*" (italics in original); contextualization cues are flags that help participants interpret which activity the speaker is doing right now. This signaling can be done directly, through the lexicon, grammar, discourse markers, or meta-talk, or it can be done indirectly, through the use of contextualization cues such as prosody, gestures, language or register choice, and CS. Contextualization cues are essentially "a series of nudges now in one direction and now in another" (Levinson 2003: 35), aiding interpretation.

bilingual speakers, frequent language alternation and the association of a set of values with each code, 'we' and 'they' codes may develop. Often arising when an ethnic, minority code comes in contact with a standardized majority language (Blom & Gumperz 1972; Franceschini 1998), the minority 'we' code would generally stand for in-group, local values; the majority 'they' code would symbolize formal, out-group, depersonalized interaction. In the example of the Chicana mother, Spanish would be the 'we' code while English would be the 'they' code.

However, further research (Woolard 1988: 54; Giacalone Ramat 1995: 61; Alfonzetti 1998: 207) has demonstrated that the kind of identity formation and confirmation that CS allows for is much more complex than a simple dichotomy between 'us' and 'them'. Theories of communities of practice (a concept that will be discussed more fully in section 5.1) emphasize that individuals are constantly engaging their multiple, overlapping identities and roles in overlapping communities of practice (Meyerhoff 2002: 531). This kind of CS is therefore used by bilingual speakers to activate and make relevant these simultaneous and multiple levels of participation and belonging.[6]

Out of the social and language contact situations, members' attitudes towards the codes and language alternation, and members' proficiencies, each bilingual community develops its own CS practices. While some communities only use direction-significant switching (Blom & Gumperz 1972; Poplack 1988), other communities use both direction-significant switching and contrastive switching (Gumperz 1982; Auer 1984; Li Wei 1998). For some communities, CS is positive and symbolizes speakers' dual identities and language skills, whereas

[6]See Zentella (1997: 114) for an excellent discussion of how CS and identity are linked. For the participants of Zentella's study, CS served as "their badge of membership" in the community as well as enabling "each one to fulfill crucial communicative functions in ways that joined her to others similar in age or language profile, as well as to construct and display her unique self".

code-switched talk is seen as substandard or lazy in other communities (cf. Poplack 1988 for a stark contrast in language attitudes and CS behaviour between two groups of speakers). Moreover, codes and/or CS do not always have social meaning or semantic value. Some communities use "code-mixing", frequent, smooth switching between codes.[7] In code-mixed talk, it is often difficult, if not impossible to assign functions to individual switches. Often, in these cases, alternation itself "has come to be used as a consistent code of its own, like another focused language, with all its possible variability" (Franceschini 1998: 61).

In these cases, the act of switching, rather than the switches or their direction, acquires semantic and/or connotative value. Consequently, it is important that we conceptualize CS not only as "boundary-maintaining" but also as "boundary-levelling" (Heller 1988: 1). Studies of bilingual communities have shown that CS has the potential to signify on multiple levels, to activate shared knowledge, and to provide information about the speaker's language preferences and proficiencies, the structure of the interaction, the speaker's orientation to the interaction, and the multiple roles and identities of the speaker. All of these CS functions have been found in many different bilingual communities, and demonstrate that CS can be a valuable resource for bilingual speakers.

[7] Terminology varies to describe this phenomenon; see Auer (1998: 19-21, 1999) and Álvarez-Cáccamo (1998) for discussions.

3 *Methodology*

With an understanding of CS as a dynamic, context-based resource, it is not methodologically valid to assign static meanings to the codes. For instance, it would be an overgeneralization to assume that in all cases, use of the dialect signals informal, personalized talk whereas use of the standard language signals formal, objective, depersonalized talk. Rather, it is necessary to confirm that members of the community orient to categories such as these, ensuring that the categories are not simply an analytic artefact. Moreover, we must be able to illustrate that members signal their orientations to these categories in interaction, and that interlocutors interpret these signals to be meaningful (Auer 1998: 2; Li Wei 2002: 164).

Conversation analysis (CA) is one method used to examine members' interpretations of interaction. This method of analysis argues that interlocutors use two basic features of interaction to co-construct conversational meaning: orderliness – the idea that interaction is systemic and rule-oriented but not routine – and sequentiality – the idea that interlocutors orient to and build on what has been done previously in the interaction (Schiffrin 1994: 29-30; Have 1999: 197). Because interlocutors are interpreting and responding to talk on the fly, in a series of moves, evaluations, and countermoves (Gumperz 2003: 118), and because these evaluations and moves determine the direction the interaction will take next, speakers make use of contextualization cues to promote one interpretation over others (Prevignano & di Luzio 2003: 10).

Within the context of CA, this study makes use of Auer's (1984, 1988, 1995, 1998) participant-related and discourse-related framework for the analysis of CS.[8] This framework is based on the principles of orderliness and sequentiality,

[8] Auer (1995: 120-121) and Giacalone Ramat (1995: 52) discuss the drawbacks of the categorization of CS functions: categories overlap and new categories are always being created; conversational structures and functions get grouped together; there is the danger of decon-

and entails the microanalysis of the location and function of code-switched utterances in order to determine the type of switch and its negotiated meaning. Moreover, analysts using this framework insist that the interpretations of CS functions and meanings are based on members' interpretations of CS, as demonstrated in their talk (Li Wei 2002). Following this approach, the analysis of CS in this study will also focus on *when* and *where* in interaction a switch occurs and *how* it is interpreted locally.

CA is therefore a way of examining, through the analysis of low-level conversational maintenance activities and sequentiality, how interlocutors negotiate local, context-specific meaning as well as more global meaning through everyday interaction. In order to be able to tie local analysis to global meaning negotiation (global meaning including the construction of personal or group identities and the confirmation or creation of institutional and community practices), some background knowledge about the interlocutors and their social and cultural contexts is necessary (Auer 1998: 5).[9] The ethnographic data collected for this study (including details about language learning histories, proficiency levels, expectations and attitudes towards classroom learning and CS) provide the necessary context in which the conversational data can be situated.

The type and scope of data collected for this study were strongly influenced by a previous examination of classroom CS. In November 2002, a pilot study was carried out by the researcher, in which approximately one hour of group interaction in one intermediate and one advanced German class were recorded. Many variables were held constant between the pilot study and the thesis data

texualizing switches when categorizing them; categorization implies the multidirectionality of switching, which is not always the case. However, using the same classificatory perspectives as are common in the literature simplify the comparison of classroom and non-classroom CS behaviours. The categorization used in this analysis is simply a tool which does not eliminate the need for detailed case-by-case analysis.

[9]Background knowledge is especially important for two reasons: interlocutors often make use of shared knowledge in interaction; and in order to make claims about participant-related switching, it is necessary to know interlocutors' proficiency levels.

collection: the data for both studies were collected with the same instructor, in classrooms with the same teaching methods, and many of the students who participated in the pilot study as intermediate students also participated as advanced students in the thesis data collection.

Although there were many similarities between the two studies, CS behaviour differs significantly in the two data sets. While the conversational data from the present study reveal few differences between CS behaviour in the intermediate and advanced classes, there were several differences in the CS behaviour of the two levels of speakers in the pilot study. The thesis data demonstrate that speakers of all proficiency levels use CS for diverse participant- and discourse-related purposes, and that speakers use CS in a systematic fashion, but not predictably. In the pilot study data, on the other hand, code-switches were primarily participant-related, and alternation between German and English and the contextualization of language alternation were more predictable.[10]

The differences between the thesis and pilot study data may be related to differing classroom CS practices and/or to participants' comfort levels. Participants of the pilot study believed they had to speak 'German only' for the recordings, and several participants made comments about how stressful it was to speak only German. In addition, most of the pilot study participants were uncomfortable with the presence of an outsider-researcher and the tape recorders (cf. Gregersen & Horwitz 2002).

Research on 'ideal' CS conditions confirms that comfort level is significant (Zentella 1981; Gardner-Chloros 1995: 79). As Poplack (1988: 231) points out, often CS only occurs under ideal conditions: the setting, the group of participants, speaker intimacy, and the situation all have to be 'right'. Participants of the pilot study were uncomfortable with an unfamiliar researcher, unsure about

[10]See section 5.5.1 for further discussion of the pilot study results and classroom CS repertoires.

the objectives of the research, and nervous about their speech being recorded. It seems likely that these factors contributed to the differences in CS behaviour between the two data sets. As a result of these observations, extra effort was made to ensure that the participants and instructors were comfortable with the thesis data collection. Both groups were introduced to the study as early as possible in the semester. Participants were assured that I was not studying the correctness or proficiency level of their spoken German, and during recording sessions, error correction was kept to a minimum.

Moreover, we cannot minimize the influence of perceptions and attitudes on CS behaviour. Analysis of the pilot study data was limited by the lack of attitudinal information. Gathering data on participants' language attitudes and CS enables us to link attitudes with use as well as reported behaviour with actual behaviour, because, as Gumperz (1982) and Poplack (1988) suggest, even speakers who report that they are ideologically opposed to language mixing may use CS.

In sum, the collection and analysis of the pilot study data had several significant influences on the methodology of the present study: the importance of participant comfort level was taken into account, and participants' language learning histories and attitudes about language acquisition and CS were elicited. The emphasis on participant background information, setting, and attitudinal context breaks with a more rigorous CA approach, in which analysts may disregard interaction-external ethnographic information (e.g. gender, age, relationships between interlocutors, setting) as a reaction to and as a way to avoid analyst-driven, generalized interpretations. As Li Wei (2002: 171) points out,

> there is a tendency in code-switching research to attribute macro-social value to individual instances of switching and to assume that speakers intend such meanings to be understood by their co-interactants.

> Analysts who adopt the CA approach argue that, while code-switching is indeed a socially significant behavior, their task is to show how analyses are DEMONSTRATIVELY RELEVANT to the participants.

Obviously, an efficient method of determining relevance is to avoid 'contaminating' the analysis with additional background and attitudinal information.[11] Nevertheless, in an attempt to connect the micro-analysis of CS with the classroom language learning experience, the present study makes frequent use of ethnographic information. Moreover, several factors which have significant influences on CS behaviour and the overall interactional behaviour of the interlocutors – such as the substratum of teacher talk, interlocutor comfort level, group intimacy, and attitudes towards language learning (Zentella 1981; Gardner-Chloros 1995; Blyth 1995) – cannot be accounted for with a contextless CA approach.

Combining a CA approach with ethnographic details allows us to link the local with the global, ultimately arriving at interpretations which "a) account for what transpires in the event as a whole and b) fit into what we know independently about local ideologies of language and interpersonal relations" (Gumperz 2003: 116). That is, while the analyses of conversational data discuss how CS comes to 'mean something' in a local context, the ethnographic data help us understand how the meaning constructed in interaction corresponds with and contributes to larger-scale concepts, ideologies and practices in the classroom (Schiffrin 1994: 105).

[11] Li Wei (2002: 171) mentions that "[i]n its strictest form, CA would argue that social settings are not of interest because people use conversational devices to account for what they do, regardless of the situation in which it takes place."

4 *Perceptions and research: Second language acquisition, code-switching, and classroom language learning*

For a long time, linguists and psycholinguists have been preoccupied with the question of whether bilinguals can keep their two languages separate. This preoccupation has presumably grown out the monolingual bias of Western society (Romaine 1995: 6-7; Blyth 1995: 145), which to some extent views monolingualism as the default and bilingualism/multilingualism as exceptional cases – which is, of course, not quantitatively true, as Li Wei (2000: 5) points out. Perceptions of the value of 'language purity' also contribute to the interest in the bilingual, whose dual engagement with two languages – both cognitively in the bilingual's brain, and socially in bilingual communities – may bring into question the assumed superiority of a monolingual, unicultural standard (Romaine 1995: 323-324; Edwards 2003: 28; Genesee 2003: 212). As some researchers argue (Paradis 1990; Auer 1998: 13; Baetens Beardsmore 2003: 12), whether bilinguals keep their languages separate or not may be a moot point (and a non-recoverable one at that); however, the scientific preoccupation with bilingual language separation has had a significant impact on pedagogical practice and language attitudes (cf. Li Wei 2000; Cook 2001; Dewaele, Housen & Li Wei 2003). This overview of bilingualism research is provided for this reason – to clarify the origins of different understandings of bilingualism, and to situate this thesis in the research.

4.1 Bilingualism versus monolingualism: How does bilingualism function?

The most widespread definition of bilingualism is "the equal mastery of two languages" (Mackey 1962/2000: 26). This definition implies that the bilingual

is essentially two monolinguals in one (Li Wei 2000: 17), able to function monolingually in either language at any given time, without interference from the other language. From this conceptualization of the bilingual comes the idea of the 'balanced bilingual', the user of two languages who displays complete mastery at keeping the two languages separate from one another and often displays complete mastery of the two linguistic systems themselves (cf. Grosjean 1995: 262). Also connected with this understanding of bilingualism is the idea that languages are compartmentalized in the bilingual's brain. The ideal bilingual has two discrete, independent lexical stores, phonological, syntactic, pragmatic, and discursive systems (cf. Grosjean 1982; Köppe & Meisel 1995; Paradis & Genesee 1996).

Another, less common understanding of bilingualism argues against language separation and equal mastery. These researchers contend that the two lexica and structural systems are intertwined in the bilingual's brain (Obler 1982; Beauvillain & Grainger 1987; Locastro 1987; Cook 1994),[12] or that while lexical items are kept in a central store, morphological and syntactic systems are more or less separate (de Bot 1992/2000: 442). Because of the intertwining of the languages, bilingual speech production is subject to cross-linguistic influences (Odlin 1989; Slobin 1997; Döpke 2000). Instances of cross-linguistic influence, however, are not random or unstructured, and do not preclude the unprincipled, jumbled mixing of the two linguistic systems (Genesee 2003: 218).

Bilingual language use differs significantly from monolingual language use. In bilingual communities, bilinguals have, as part of their communicative competence, knowledge of which language to use when. As a result, even highly

[12]Li Wei (2000: 15) notes there is evidence for both compartmentalization and intertwining. It is also important to note that linguistic processing varies based on proficiency level: while proficient speakers may be able to move directly from concept to expression, learners may have to use the L1 as an intermediary, thus arguing for the intertwining of the two languages, at least for learners.

proficient bilinguals may have domain-specific mastery – incomplete knowledge of the full range of lexica, registers and styles of both languages – although they are completely proficient with the phonology, structure and discursive systems of both languages (Wardhaugh 1998: 95; Li Wei 2000: 8). Scholarly and scientific debates continue in regards to whether languages are compartmentalized or intertwined in the bilingual's brain, and whether it is anomalous or natural for bilinguals to have equal mastery of the two languages. Important to note is that, along with the perception of the normality of monolingualism, these debates about language separation and ultimate attainment shape the expectations and goals of language learners and instructors.

In this study, bilingualism is defined by usage and setting rather than by projections of cognitive ability (Auer 1988: 191). A bilingual is someone who displays, in interaction, her knowledge of the two languages and her awareness of community practices regarding appropriate language choice (Blyth 1995; Auer 1998; Piller 2002; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2004). It is also necessary to distinguish between the bilingual and the (classroom) language learner.[13] I propose that setting and perception determine this differentiation, rather than proficiency. In the classroom, speakers 'do being learners': their expectations, attitudes and code choices are influenced by the classroom setting. Outside of the classroom, these same speakers may be 'bilinguals' by orienting to a non-classroom set of expectations and code choices; in this setting, they are 'doing being bilinguals' (Auer 1984: 7; Schegloff 1991: 61).[14]

[13]In this study, 'classroom language learner' and 'learner' are used to refer specifically to adults learning an L2 with some explicit instruction of grammar, and with learners and instructor sharing a common language (L1).

[14]I have chosen to define bilinguals (and 'doing being bilingual') this way based on informal observations of the non-classroom talk of some of the participants of this study. Several participants and I were members of a non-classroom bilingual community of practice. These speakers oriented to different attitudes and behaviours in the classroom and outside of it. Because they identified as bilinguals and were accepted by the bilingual community of practice as bilinguals, it is not valid to claim, simply because of their sometime-participation in a language classroom or their proficiency levels, that these speakers are not full-fledged bilinguals.

4.2 Second language learning: Pedagogies, attitudes, and classroom practices

4.2.1 Language pedagogy and language attitudes

Conceptualizing the bilingual as two monolinguals in one, with separate and equal mastery of the two languages, has a definite impact on the acceptability of CS and L1 use in language instruction and on attitudes towards CS and language learning. The use of the L1 and CS are discouraged for several reasons: language mixing will hinder the development of compartmentalized language storage and processing and may encourage cross-linguistic interference (cf. Romaine 1995: 206; Blyth 1995: 155). If the learner's competence is measured against the yardstick of the competence of the native speaker,[15] in comparison to whom the learner will always come up short, there is essentially no use for the L1 or CS during L2 acquisition. After all, native monolingual speakers have no need for CS. Comparison to the native speaker is a widespread practice, reflected in SLA research (Kasper 1997; Poulisse 1997), L2 pedagogies and teaching materials (cf. Blyth 1995; Cook 2001), and language attitudes of instructors and learners.

Questionnaire results from the present study (see section 5.0 for details about the questionnaires) suggest that most participants see CS and L1 use in the classroom as an indicator of laziness or incompetence: as one respondent reported, CS is a "substitute for learning". Although participants acknowledge the utility of CS in the language classroom, they are also concerned that habitual use of and reliance on the L1 will have negative effects on their L2 skills.[16] For

Furthermore, these speakers acknowledged in their questionnaires that they behave differently inside and outside of the classroom.

[15]The native speaker is defined here as someone who has learned the language from childhood, has mastery of the spoken language but mostly unconscious knowledge of generative rules (Sidnell 2001: 34), and, most importantly, has communicative competence and is well-versed in the language's social and cultural practices. The native speaker is essentially an expert of her language and is usually conceptualized as a monolingual speaker (cf. Kramsch 1993: 9; Blyth 1995: 169-170; Romaine 1995: 19-21 for discussions of some of the problems associated with the use of the term).

[16]Fears of lexical fossilization and CS impairing learners' ultimate L2 attainment are linked

example, one respondent reports on the value of CS in the language classroom:

> I think [CS] can have a positive effect as long as [learners] get feedback right away on the words they missed and keep working on their vocab. When learning a second language, switching back to English is all too easy. Switching keeps the flow of the sentence going rather than stopping and starting it, which may affect the sentence structure. For instance, they may then get the grammar mixed up if stopping all the time because they will forget where they were in the sentence.

Most respondents thought that CS had at least some utility in helping speakers avoid communication breakdown, but most also expressed concerns similar to the following:

> I think [CS] is negative if you do it all the time because then you will never really learn the language maybe as well because you will always fall back onto your native language ... Also because when you are in a situation where you can't go to your native tongue for someone to understand you, it will be very, very frustrating and you may not have learned other ways of saying what you want to express.

These attitudes are, to some extent, reflected in non-classroom bilingual communities: "[t]here is a widespread impression that bilingual speakers code-switch because they cannot express themselves adequately in one language" (Li Wei 2000: 16). Parents raising their children bilingually have fears that their children will grow up 'semi-lingual', unable to speak either language proficiently or be able to stop mixing the two languages (Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson 1999: 33-34; 105; Li Wei 2000: 20). Even most bilinguals who switch frequently and comfortably are aware that they speak differently with in-group members than with out-group interlocutors (Gumperz 1982: 65; Blyth 1995: 155).

Finally, the importance of large amounts of input and opportunities for out-

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to learners' understandings of what CS is. If CS is understood to be the manifestation of jumbled cognitive linguistic systems, then it is not surprising that learners express concerns such as these. Learners, being unaware of the multiple other functions of CS, associate CS with substandard learner varieties. Learners also recognize that how they talk German in class and with native English speakers is different from how they would speak German with a native German speaker (Clyne 1985: 205).

put during L2 acquisition are recognized by researchers, instructors, and learners (Krashen 1982; Swain 1993; Lightbown & Spada 1999). While some researchers emphasize the potential of L1 use as "an invaluable cognitive tool" (Turnbull & Arnett 2002: 206), the use of L1 and CS cut into valuable chances for instructors to provide L2 input and for learners to produce L2 output (Macaro 2001).[17]

Although few of the participants are familiar with SLA research and SL pedagogy, their attitudes, expectations and goals for language learning reflect various tendencies and conclusions from SL research, including their understandings of the value of CS and L1 use in the classroom, and their understandings of how the L2 should be acquired.[18]

4.2.2 Classroom practices: Teacher talk and classroom code-switching

Many of these understandings and attitudes about second language acquisition are transmitted to learners via the instructor. Research on classroom CS has, for the most part, focused on instructor-learner interaction and the value(s) of CS communicated to learners through instructor CS behaviour. To a large degree, instructor-learner interaction is mediated by a mode of behaviour called 'teacher talk': this way of speaking affects not only the form but the content of interaction. A brief discussion of teacher talk is necessary in order to illustrate the influence the teacher's discourse has on students' discourse and learning experience.

As a type of institutional talk (Have 1999: 166), teacher talk differs significantly from natural discourse. In the classroom, the three-part IRE exchange is the basis of most discourse (Stubbs 1983: 29; Hall & Walsh 2002: 188-189):

[17] In their questionnaire responses, this was the most common reason learners gave when asked why CS could be negative for language learners and why or why not they code-switched in the classroom.

[18] See Sankoff 2002: 659, note 3, regarding the widespread and misrepresentative conclusion that L2 acquisition is inherently difficult.

Teacher: Initiation
Student: Response
Teacher: Evaluation

As such, the length, frequency, and content of students' turns are controlled by the teacher (Markee 2000: 97; Cazden 2001: 82). Student-student talk is usually mediated by the teacher. Classroom talk has a very fast pace: on average, gaps between initiation, response, and evaluation are less than one second long (Cazden 2001: 94), suggesting that teachers zone in on expected responses instead of really listening to students' answers. The level of monitoring is very high in the classroom (Stubbs 1983: 58), teachers being able, by virtue of the context, to correct statements and request clarification more often than would be acceptable in natural discourse. Evaluations of students' responses are also immediate and explicit. Teacher talk is frequently meta-communicative, organizing not only conversation but also the transmission and reception of information. Students, as well, suspend natural discourse processes and follow classroom practices including talking only when called on, raising their hands for permission to speak, and responding quickly to the teacher's questions. As Mehan (1981: 40) points out, the highly idiosyncratic way that teachers and students interact is dependent on both parties' "mutual synchronization of behaviour". In short, the characteristics of teacher talk enact the unequal and unique power relationship between teachers and students.[19] The institutional setting, including the power relations of the classroom, produces a situation in which the attitudes of one individual (the teacher) may be readily transmitted to many other individuals (the students) without explicit instruction or intention, as occurs with attitudes towards CS and L1 use in the classroom.

Implicit in most current L2 teaching methodologies is the assumption that

[19]This discussion is limited to traditional teacher talk. Innovative teaching methodologies, including learner-centred approaches, have altered these power relationships, which may result in changes to the basic elements of teacher-student interaction, e.g. the IRE exchange (cf. Hall & Walsh 2002).

the L1 should be used as infrequently as possible (Blyth 1995: 152; Cook 2001: 404). Official guidelines in Canada and Britain dictate that instructors should use the L2 for class instruction anywhere from 75% to 95% of the time (Turnbull 2001; Cook 2001, 2003). Studies on the ratio of L1 and L2 teacher talk in language learning classrooms have shown great variation, with L2 use ranging from 10% to 100% of teacher talk (Duff & Polio 1990; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie 2002; Levine 2003).

In general, instructors use CS and L1 for both participant-related and discourse-related purposes in the classroom. Instructors accommodate to their students' proficiency levels and ensure comprehension of the material by providing translations, summaries, grammar explanations and instructions in the L1 (Zentella 1981: 119; Martin-Jones 1995: 99; Turnbull & Arnett 2002: 209). There is evidence that instructors employ discourse-related switching, using CS for contrastive purposes such as contextualizing side-comments and quotations (Zentella 1981: 120). Instructors also use the L1 for discipline, socializing with students, or making the classroom environment friendlier (Macaro 2001: 541, 544; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownlie 2002: 403). In other words, instructors may switch between the L1 and L2 for several reasons: to increase the efficiency of class time; to make cognitive demands of learning easier; to invoke values and the sociocultural context of the greater L1 or L2 society (Cook 2001: 413; Martin 2003: 70).

Research on learner CS in the language classroom has focused on participant-related switching and the cognitive functions of L1 use (Zentella 1981; Brooks & Donato 1994; Antón & DiCamilla 1999; Swain & Lapkin 2000). Learners use CS and the L1 for translation, to ensure their own comprehension, and as a cognitive tool that enables them to process L2 input (Blyth 1995: 167-168; Swain & Lapkin 2000: 254; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2004: 508-9). There is, however,

some research that indicates that learners are also capable of discourse-related switching. Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain's (2004) examination of student CS in a senior-level university content course provides examples of learners using CS for contrast (side-comments, quotations, emphasis, and topic shift), as well as to contextualize their orientation to a cultural context or a set of role relationships. In several studies of Chinese/English classrooms,[20] students picked up on teachers' use of Cantonese as the 'we' code and English as the 'they' code, and would switch to Cantonese to make jokes and tease the teacher (Martin-Jones 1995: 97). Kramsch (1993: 38, 52) also discusses a few instances in L2 (English) classrooms in which the students use the L1 (German) for contrastive purposes.

Whether teachers use CS for discourse-related or participant-related purposes, whether they use CS at all, and how they react to students' switches play an important role in the classroom. How language alternation is dealt with in the classroom conveys to the students a set of attitudes towards the value of the two codes and the value of CS itself.

In sum, the institutional setting differentiates the classroom community from the non-classroom community in several important ways: teacher-student interaction has a different organizational structure than talk in a non-classroom setting: turns at talk are allocated differently, and repair sequences are more common and extensive. There is a high level of monitoring and classroom talk is self-reflexive, so meta-talk is very common. Students and teachers tend to have stronger opinions about and values associated with proficiency level and appropriate ways of dealing with errors, lexical gaps, switching, and misunderstandings. Additionally, the power relationships between teacher and students are unique.

[20] These studies, which include Guthrie (1984) and Lin (1988, 1990), are discussed in Martin-Jones (1995).

5 *Analysis of conversational data and questionnaire results*

The data for this study were collected in two German language classrooms – one intermediate-level class and one advanced-level class – at the University of Alberta between September and December 2003. Conversational data were collected for three or four 50-minute class sessions per class, spread out over the semester. During these sessions, the instructor was not present and the researcher led class discussions. Each session consisted of a brief warm-up activity, which was followed by a recall phase during which students reviewed or learned necessary vocabulary and cultural information. Students then were split into groups of three to five people and given questions to discuss or a role play to prepare, at which point recorders were switched on.[21]

One activity common to both classes was to watch a short video introducing a chapter theme, and then discuss the topics brought up by the video. In the intermediate class, students discussed their favourite and least favourite holidays, and in the advanced class, students discussed options for studying abroad, and recounted their most memorable experiences from school. In the intermediate class, students also prepared two role plays: one involved writing appropriate *curricula vitae* for a job advertisement and acting out a job interview role play. The tasks for the Berlin Wall activity included brainstorming and short discussion about cultural and social impacts of the fall of the Wall, after which students prepared dialogues between East and West Berliners. In the advanced class, students selected a product from several German print advertisements,

[21]The total of relevant and transcribed data – conversations between students in small groups – is 3h26min39sec, 1h36min52sec recorded in the intermediate class, distributed over four 50-minute classes, and 1h49min47sec recorded in the advanced class, distributed over three 50-minute classes. One additional hour of recorded talk was disregarded as teacher-student interaction, including my instructions to the class, my interaction with the group members, and groups presenting their role plays or summaries of their discussions.

and prepared and presented radio or television ads for those products.

Participants also filled out two questionnaires.[22] For the first questionnaire, participants were asked to provide information about their language learning histories and to rate their German proficiency, comfort level, and motivation. The second questionnaire, distributed after conversational data collection was complete, introduced participants to the concept of code-switching[23] and asked them to report on their CS practices and their opinions about CS.[24]

5.1 The community of practice and the language classroom

These language classrooms – groups of students and instructors, working together to improve German skills in a university setting – may be conceptualized as "communities of practice" (Wenger 1998). The activities that individuals do together and how they do these activities characterize the community of practice and delineate its boundaries. In essence, a community of practice exists when three criteria are met: individuals come together to complete certain activities (*mutual engagement*); individuals require each others' cooperation to accomplish the objectives of the activities, although not all individuals have the same objective or the same means (*working together on a jointly negotiated*

[22] Copies of the questionnaires are included in the appendices, sections 9.1 and 9.2. The questionnaires were designed based on discussions in Grosjean (1997) and Milroy & Gordon (2003).

[23] After participants returned the second questionnaire, they received disclosure information about the study. A copy of the disclosure form, as well as a copy of the consent form used for the study, are included in sections 9.3 and 9.4.

[24] Because it was not feasible for me to observe class sessions taught by the instructors and gather ethnographic details about the classroom myself, parts of the questionnaires were designed to gather some general information and students' attitudes about learning and the language classroom. The questionnaires attempt to compensate for and gain access to the kind of ethnographic information discussed in other studies of CS (Auer 1984; Zentella 1997; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2004), in which researchers are able to link observations about the daily tasks, personal relationships, and typical interactions of participants to the examination of CS.

enterprise); and individuals have some similar experiences and expectations, a *shared repertoire* of routines, tools, roles, ways of acting and speaking, and ways of interpreting actions and utterances (Wenger 1998: 72-85; Meyerhoff 2002: 527-528).

The concept of the community of practice is useful to the present study because of its orientation to the "day-to-day social membership and mobility of the individual, and on the co-construction of individual and community identity" (Eckert 2000: 40). Members of a community of practice may not have much in common outside of the framework of the activity they come together to do; at the same time, the concept focuses on the expectations and perceptions that members share about the activity (rather than community membership based on shared identities, similarities in language use, or some other construct).[25] Moreover, implicit in the community of practice construct is the idea of multiple belonging: "speakers belong to multiple communities of practice on multiple levels" (Eckert 2000: 172). Analysis of the talk in these classrooms precludes the understanding that members of these communities of practice are constantly moving between and making reference to the roles, expectations, and behaviours of several communities of practice (Meyerhoff 2002: 526).

Members' shared understanding of language learning is central to the classroom community of practice. Participants in this study were familiar with several kinds of activities common to classroom language learning, including grammar lessons, presentation and use of new vocabulary, listening comprehension activities, discussions of cultural information, reading and writing compositions and stories.[26] In groups, members were accustomed to practicing structures

[25] As Blyth (1995: 173) points out, "students do not see themselves as belonging to a social group in the same way that members of a speech community do. Their allegiance to their chosen language is frequently superficial". On the other hand, students do see themselves as belonging to and participating in the German class, and the community of practice capitalizes on this sense of belonging.

[26] Although slightly different pedagogies are adopted by different instructors, a combination

and vocabulary in guided group discussions, working together to complete worksheets and understand difficult texts and video clips, and creating role plays and presentations.

All of the participants have had classroom language learning experience – if not in German, then in another language: all of intermediate learners and all but three of the advanced learners learned German in a classroom.[27] Because participants learned German in different settings – German immersion school, high school courses, university courses, and intensive language courses in German-speaking countries – their language skills vary greatly. When they enter these German language classes, some learners are skilled at grammar and reading but have difficulty with oral production, while other learners speak easily and fluently but are not familiar with the rules of German grammar and syntax.[28]

Because of their classroom language learning experience, these individuals have a shared repertoire of what constitutes being a classroom language learner. They have their own expectations of what class will be like and what they will learn; they also have ideas about the instructor's expectations. They are familiar with the kinds of tasks they are asked to do and the kind of talk (i.e. English,

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of grammar- translation tasks and the communicative approach is most common in this department. Grammar translation refers to an instructional focus on reading comprehension, the manipulation of grammatical forms, and the accurate production of written texts (and/or discourse). Grammar and vocabulary exercises are often decontextualized (Hadley 1986: 54-57). The communicative approach cannot be easily summarized, but is characterized by an instructional focus on the personalization and contextualization of language, the development of all four skills, and the ability to produce culturally appropriate and comprehensible texts and discourse is often considered more important than grammatical accuracy (Brumfit 1987: 5-6).

[27]Half of the eighteen respondents in the intermediate class had learned German exclusively in the classroom, while the other half supplemented their classroom learning with a visit to a German-speaking country. Of the nineteen respondents in the advanced class, five learned German exclusively in the classroom, eight supplemented classroom learning with a visit to a German-speaking country, three learned German in school, from family, and from visits to a German-speaking country, and three were raised English-German bilingual from birth.

[28]Emphases on grammar, speaking and listening skills, and vocabulary acquisition vary from course to course. In addition, high school curricula often cover more vocabulary and develop all four skills more fully than the university curricula, but the high school material is also spread out over a longer period of time.

German) that is appropriate to complete the task. Although they have different goals, members understand that they also have to work together to complete many of the tasks (cf. Hall & Walsh 2002: 187-88).

German language classes at the University of Alberta (located in a primarily English-speaking city) are offered through the Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies. Departmental guidelines encourage the use of the target language as the primary vehicle of all language classrooms, but it is common for instructors and students to use some English. Because a prerequisite for admission to the university is proficiency in English, all students in all German courses are competent English speakers, instructors are highly proficient English speakers, and some of the course textbooks are a mix of German and English. Although students are encouraged to speak German at all times, they are nevertheless aware of permissible uses of English. Instructors and students commonly use German for task-talk as well as off-topic talk in the classroom. Instructors may use English in class to explain complex grammar, to translate lexical items, and in situations where comprehension is important, such as details about projects and exams. Students may use English with the instructor to request clarification, elicit a lexical item, and check correctness. Outside of the classroom, instructors and students are more likely to speak English with each other.

While most students in these two classes would like to continue taking German courses and/or spend time in a German-speaking country, few have concrete plans to do so.[29] Students may also be taking the course for their Language Other than English requirement. All students of the Faculty of Arts must com-

[29]In the intermediate class, there are two German majors and one German minor. These three students are the only ones who have plans to do more coursework in German. In the advanced class, there are two German majors and four German minors. These six students have plans to do more coursework, and two of them have arranged a summer job and exchange program in Germany.

plete two semesters of foreign language courses. Because some students take German courses simply to fulfill this requirement, and not because they have an interest in learning German in and of itself, students' levels of commitment vary, but on the whole, most students have a genuine interest in German language and culture because of German-speaking friends or family, or for career goals.

Although the two classes share many similarities, the objectives of the classes differ slightly. The foci of the intermediate course are the intensive development of students' listening, speaking, reading and writing skills, vocabulary expansion, and the development of communicative competence. On the other hand, the material covered in the advanced course precludes strong knowledge of German. The material focuses on the refinement and extension of the students' German language skills, with an emphasis on culture, idiomatic expressions, and more specific vocabulary.

5.2 Analysis of the conversational data

Prevignano (2003: 67) points out that "human agents do not simply act, but are also accustomed to signalling or cueing the types of act/action/activity they are engaging in". In other words, speakers signal what they are doing with talk as they produce it. Activity type is often signalled with contextualization cues such as prosody, gestures, register, and language alternation (Gumperz 1982; Auer 1998).

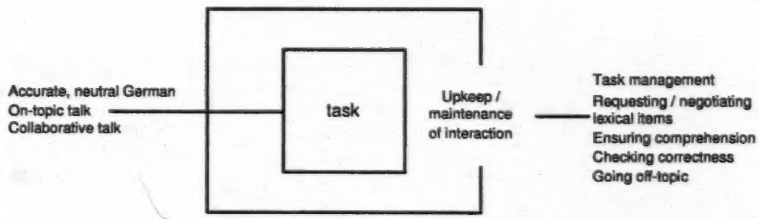
Contextualization cues are often used to denote the difference between on-topic talk and interactional upkeep – the conversational work that interlocutors do to keep on-topic talk running smoothly (Schegloff 1991; Have 1999). Speakers may put on-topic talk 'on hold' temporarily to provide more information, check comprehension, negotiate a rewording, and so on (Goffman 1974).

Due to the classroom's dual focus on form and content and speakers' lim-

ited knowledge of the L2, upkeep activities are particularly pertinent for classroom language learners. During group interaction, learners produce a great deal of talk that circles around the assigned discussion topics: learners are constantly ensuring comprehension and correctness, requesting and negotiating lexical items, and managing the task.

In the language classroom, the activity types 'task talk' and 'conversation upkeep' may also be seen as 'on-record' and 'off-record' talk. In his study of the CS behaviour of intermediate classroom learners preparing role plays, Hancock (1997: 222) suggests that the on-record talk is the "dialogue that the participants are offering as the product of their efforts. The off-record discourse represents what the participants have had to do in the process of creating this product". The learners' movement between on-record and off-record talk, or between task talk and conversation upkeep, can be conceptualized as in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Conversation upkeep



To signal a temporary move away from or return to the task at hand, learners often use contextualization cues such as changes in volume or tempo, laughter, emphasis, and CS. For the most part, learners try to speak German whenever possible: there are plenty of cases where speakers use German for interaction upkeep. However, learners have proficiency-related related reasons as well as practical reasons to switch to English for conversation upkeep.[30]

[30]Using English enables speakers to make upkeep faster and more efficient, allowing them to

Learners move away from task talk for both participant-related and discourse-related reasons (Auer 1984, 1988, 1998). Participant-related reasons to move away from task talk include checking the correctness of an utterance, ensuring comprehension, and negotiating a lexical item or rewording. Discourse-related reasons to move away from task talk include task management, side-comments, and going off-topic.

The following example is provided to illustrate the method of analysis within this framework. In this example, S1 describes her experience as a high-school exchange student in Germany (transcription conventions are given in section 9.5).

Example 1: Discourse-related code-switch (advanced class)

1	S1:	ich bin in der klasse? *i'm in the class?*
2		in deutschland ich muss uh *in germany i had to uh*
3		wenn ich da war uh die FÜNFte deutschklasse nehmen? *when i was there uh take the FIFth grade german class?*
4 →		((laughter)) ° **it's very embarrassing** ° ((laughter))
5	S2:	((laughter))
6	S1:	aber in mathe (.) und ( ) die neunten klasse *but in math (.) and ( ) ninth grade*
7		wenn ich (.) in die elften [klasse war ((laughter)) *when i (.) was in the eleventh [grade ((laughter))*
8	S3:	[[**yeah yeah**

S1 explains that she was placed in the fifth grade German class and the ninth grade math class when she attended school in Germany. After explaining her predicament in German and laughing, she switches to English in line 4 to make

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focus on the task (refer to the discussion of example 18, which contrasts speakers who choose to make upkeep fast with speakers who choose to use German for upkeep). As one respondent points out in the questionnaire results, "For most group work we have only 5 min or so, so it seems like if we spend all our time working out every detail we want to say to each other in German, we'll get nothing done".

a side-comment about her experience. Although this switch may be interpreted as a participant-related switch that anticipated the difficulty of expressing 'it's very embarrassing' in German, this is unlikely, considering that S1 has strong German speaking skills, and considering that after this comment, she switches back to German to discuss the topic further. Rather, I suggest that this switch is discourse-related: S1 switches to signal the contrast between her short narrative and the side-comment. In other words, the move between activity types is contextualized with language alternation. Many similar examples of speakers using CS to contextualize the difference between on-topic talk and a side-comment are found in non-classroom bilingual communities (Gumperz 1982: 76; Zentella 1997: 94; Alfonzetti 1998: 194-95).

Further in-depth analysis will demonstrate that the CS behaviour of these communities of practice is characterized by members' proficiency levels, by members' practices of contextualizing movement between task talk and upkeep talk, and by orientation to community-wide practices regarding appropriate language choices. CS in these classrooms does not simply reflect learners' laziness or incomplete acquisition of German. Rather, CS reflects the practices of this community and the community's perceptions of the situation at hand, of learners' roles and identities in the classroom, and of the appropriateness and connotative potential of language alternation in the classroom.

5.2.1 Appropriateness of code choice

Like members of non-classroom bilingual communities, learners are aware of code appropriateness and how classroom practices regarding code appropriateness function in conjunction with conversational structures and different kinds of talk. Orienting to the language learning setting, learners try to *speak as much German as possible*, and they often *respond in which the language they*

are spoken to.[31] With this understanding (respond in the language spoken to you), learners can help each other stick to German by speaking German themselves.[32] In example 2, the group is discussing their high school experiences, and S5 exerts pressure to continue the conversation in German.

Example 2: Discourse-related code-switch (adv)

1	S4:	**there's nothing to do! small town life is-**
2 →	S5:	wie viele leute in [name of town]? *how many people in [name of town]?*
3	S4:	sechs- über sechs tausend fünf *six - over six thousand five*

For four turns prior to S5's utterance, the interlocutors have been speaking English, but after S4 responds in German in line 3, the interaction continues in German. There are numerous examples of speakers inserting a German utterance into English talk to encourage interlocutors to switch to German. In example 3, S6 and S7 are using English to create a persona for a CV and subsequent role play, talking about Hungarian names and Hungarian food ('elephant ears'). S6 frequently exerts pressure on interlocutors to speak German by trying to speak almost exclusively German herself.[33] In line 4, S6 translates her English utterance into German after a short pause, orienting to the practice of using German whenever possible. The interaction then continues in German.

[31] In non-classroom communities, following a change in the language of interaction is often interpreted as cooperation, whereas not following the change signals dispreference or a lack of cooperation (Auer 1995: 130; Milroy & Li Wei 1995: 150; Zentella 1997:86-87; Moyer 1998: 225-26). Many of these communities deal with this same conflict between a general (but possibly weak) preference for same language talk and the need to contextualize conversational structures and orientation (Auer 1984: 30).

[32] Awareness of this practice is reflected in the questionnaires. For example, one of the respondents writes, "If it's a simple sentence I'll say it in German but if it's something of importance (ie. when's the test? etc.) I'll ask in English just so that I don't misunderstand".

[33] In one eight-minute recording from the end of semester, S6 only spoke a few words in English, whereas other group members almost consistently produced turns that were English and German. Interestingly, however, sequential analysis of the recording reveals that the other group members would often orient to S6's use of German: if S6 spoke in German, interlocutors' responses (as well as other turns following S6's utterances) would often start off in German as well.

Example 3: Discourse-related code-switch (intermediate class)

1	S6:	**i had a (.) hungarian uncle named laslo**
2	S7:	**laslo! that is so- (.) laslo** ((laughter))
3		**i gotta write that down**
4 →	S6:	((laughter)) **write that down** (.) schreib das! *((laughter)) **write that down** (.) write that!*
5	S7:	ich liebe- ich liebe die (..) elephant öhren *i love- i love the (..) elephant ears*

Similar translations and repair sequences are frequent in non-classroom communities, often occurring "due to the 'wrong' language choice, i.e. one not coinciding with that recipient's preferred language" (Auer 1998: 5; cf. Auer 1984: 60; Zentella 1997: 85; Alfonzetti 1998: 185; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2004: 509 for a similar example in an upper-level content classroom).

Speakers also signal their awareness of violations of appropriate code choices. In the following example, the speaker goes against the practices of this community by talking extensively on-topic in English, but also acknowledges that she is violating these practices. The group is creating a radio advertisement for the Volkswagen Beetle and is trying to come up with selling features for the car. Prior to this excerpt, they have been using mostly German with some English lexical items.

Example 4: Participant- and discourse-related code-switch (adv)

1 →	S3:	**<we should- (.) i can't say this at german- in german**
2		**so i'm not going to try>**
3	?:	((laughter))
4	S3:	**<we should make it like the new GMC commercials**
5		**where they're like you know>**
6		**(.) AFter the war (.) VOLKSwagen made it all-**
7		**(.) the economy go back up (.)**
8		**<haven't you seen those new GMC commercials where they're**

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 9          like?> (.) when they needed to build bridges

10          (.) GMC was there=
                               =
11     S8:                     =o[:h ((laughter))
                                  [
12     S9:                       [oh yeah [[((laughter))
                                          [[
13     S3:                                 [[seen those?

14     (.)

15     S9:   [ja aber
             [yes but
             [
16     S3:   [(noxious)

17     S9:   (.) mit (.) fow veh und (.)
             (.) with (.) VW and (.)

18           den krieg?= ((laughter))
             the   war?= ((laughter))
                       =
19     S3:               =krieg (.) ja
                         =war (.) yeah
```

Following a brainstorming session mostly in German, S3 starts her utterance in line 1 in English. She then inserts a repair sequence in which she justifies her code choice and continues in English in line 4. After S8 and S9 respond in lines 11 and 12, S3 continues in English with a question (line 13). After a pause, S9 returns to German, and in line 19, S3 follows her lead and returns to German as well. Throughout this sequence, interlocutors indicate their understanding of the situation: in line 3, 11, and 12, interlocutors respond with laughter (cf. Jefferson, Sacks & Schegloff 1991).

This switch is both participant-related and discourse-related: the speaker switches to English because she anticipates difficulty expressing herself in German (Lüdi 2003: 176), but it is also a discourse-related switch because the speaker uses English to step outside of the task for a side-comment in lines 1 and 2, and because she signals her awareness that she should be speaking German. This sequence – providing a reason for the code choice, and then

switching back to German at the end of S3's extended utterance – suggests that these learners have a clear conception of language appropriateness. Through her metalinguistic comment, contextualization cues, and her return to German after this sequence, S3 enacts her knowledge of the classroom practice of using German whenever possible, even if she is not enacting the practice itself.[34]

5.2.2 Appropriateness of code choice: The preference for comprehension

There is a strong orientation to comprehension during group work. Group members are at very different proficiency levels, and learners orient to this disparity with a *general preference for comprehension over German-only talk*.[35] As a result, practices of speaking German whenever possible may be overridden by the preference for comprehension. This preference is enacted in several different ways: translation from German into English, using English in conjunction with important conversational structures, and lexical item switching into English.

Learners often ensure comprehension for less proficient group members by translating uncommon lexical items into English (Brooks & Donato 1994; Cook 2001). In example 5, the group is brainstorming for a shampoo advertisement. S12, who has weaker oral proficiency, requests clarification and S10, a very proficient speaker, provides a translation in line 5, which ensures comprehension.

[34] A similar example from a French-English bilingual in Ottawa: "Mais je te gage par exemple que ... excuse mon anglais, mais les odds sont là." *'But I bet you that ... excuse my English, but the odds are there'* (Poplack 1988: 226).

[35] In the advanced class, this disparity is even more marked: groups consisted of some speakers who had grown up English/German bilingual and some speakers who struggled with the oral production of basic vocabulary and structures.

Example 5: Participant- and discourse-related code-switch (adv)

1	S10:	**kay** (.) es ist gesund (.) für die kopfhaut **kay** *(.) it is healthy (.) for the scalp*
2	S11:	° mmm das ist [gut ° ° *mmm that's* [*good* °
3	S12:	[[ist- ist- [[(.) kopfhaut? [*is- is-* [[*(.) scalp?*
4	S10:	[[[[es (hält) [[*it (keeps)*
5 →		**scalp. okay. (..) yeah**

The CA concept of *recipient design* (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Have 1999: 112) is related to this preference for comprehension. Recipient design, "the way in which all turns at talk are in some way designed to be understood in terms of what the speaker knows or assumes about the existing mutual knowledge between him or her and the recipient" (Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998: 138), is another way of referring to the shared repertoire of this community of practice. Blyth (1995: 171-172) describes an upper-level culture course taught in the L2 (French), in which students of various different proficiency levels made use of recipient design. Students used CS and scaffolding during class discussions in order to help each other deal with difficulties with standard French as well as with the object of study, Cajun culture and Cajun spoken varieties.

In the next example, S9 is telling a story about a school trip. The body of the story is in German, but S9 switches to English for the 'punch line' in line 8.

Example 6: Participant- and discourse-related code-switch (adv)

1	S9:	ja und wir haben nach (..) reptileworld? *yeah and we went to (..) reptileworld?*
2	?:	ooh
3	S9:	und meine mutter hasse schlangen *and my mother hates snakes*
4	?:	**yeah**
5	?:	mhmm

6		S9:	und sie haben- (..) sehr weiß(.) sie war sehr weiß? *and she had- (..) very white (.) she was very white?*
7		S4:	**yeah**
8	→	S9:	**she fainted**
9		all:	[((laughter)) [
10		?:	[**hmmm oh no**

After each of her turns, interlocutors provide minimal feedback about S9's narrative, confirming their comprehension. This feedback is especially relevant after lines 1 and 6, where S9's utterances end in rising intonation, signalling her insecurity about the utterances being understood. Although it appears that interlocutors have understood S9's German utterance in line 6, with S4 providing confirmation in line 7, S9 switches into English for the punch line of the story. The interlocutors' reactions are appropriate to the situation and indicate that they understood the story: several interlocutors laugh, and one interlocutor reacts sympathetically in line 10.

This switch has both participant-related and discourse-related functions. Switching to English not only helps S9 avoid the difficulty of expressing 'she fainted' in German. The switch also orients to this community of practice's preference for comprehension and ensures that she will be understood. The contrast between German and English also serves to contextualize the most important part of the anecdote. The use of CS for contrast, and particularly for a summary or punch line, has been demonstrated repeatedly in other bilingual communities (Woolard 1988: 69; Zentella 1997: 94; Alfonzetti 1998: 194-95; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2004: 512 discusses a classroom example).

5.2.3 Appropriateness of code choice: The upkeep of interaction

Although speakers do try to use German whenever possible, switching to English appears to be more frequent for conversation maintenance functions such as repair, quotations, and side-comments. English may be more acceptable to use during conversation upkeep as this talk "represents what the participants have had to do in the process of creating this product", whereas task talk is the "dialogue that the participants are offering as the product of their efforts" (Hancock 1997: 222), in which there is less tolerance for English insertions. These instances of language alternation during conversation upkeep may also be linked to proficiency, the community's preference for comprehension, and the switches may have contrastive purposes.

In example 7, S7 uses CS to provide contrast between meta-task talk in English, and task talk in German, in order to describe what he plans to say during the group's role play.

Example 7: Discourse-related code-switch (int)

1	S7:	**like- like i'll ask**
2		(.) wo waren sie *(.) where were you*
3		(.) **like i'll do the intro and then like**
4		((singing)) dadadadada ° **or whatever** ° (.)
5		**and then like** (.) **i'll intro us** (.) **and then i'll be like**
6		(.) (jetzt die frage) *(.) (now the question)*
7		(.) wo waren sie (.) an diese (.) wichtige (.) *(.) where were you (.) on this (.) important (.)*
8		u:m (.) ( )

S7 contextualizes the difference between the reported speech and the meta-talk with switches between English and German as well as with pauses. Similar instances of using CS for quotations and the contextualization of 'virtual' quo-

tations – "the quotation of speech that the speaker imagines he or she will utter" (Alfonzetti 1998: 202) – have been described in several non-classroom communities (Gumperz 1982: 76; Poplack 1988: 227; Álvarez-Cáccamo 1996: 37; Sebba & Wootton 1998: 273).

The next example presents a similar situation: S13 switches to German to describe what she would say to the instructor.

Example 8: Discourse-related code-switch (int)

1	S13:	**we could always go ask ( )**
2		(.) [name of instructor] (..)
3	→	wann machen [wir das rollenspiel
		when are we [doing the role play
		[
4	S6:	[hmmm

This switch not only contextualizes the difference between S13's planned talk and her present talk, but also points to a tendency of code choice. Learners usually address the instructor in German, and as such, this enactment of S13's planned talk with the instructor coincides with appropriate code choice as well.[36]

[36]The association of a particular interlocutor with a particular code is a well-known phenomenon in non- classroom bilingual communities (Gumperz 1982: 77; Auer 1984: 34; Köppe & Meisel 1995: 278; Zentella 1997: 84). In the advanced class, this tendency is also observed in learner interaction with S15 (a multilingual exchange student who often spoke only German in class). In the example, participants are brainstorming features in order to write an advertisement for a car.

1	S1:	**everyone will notice it? (.) ° i don't know °**
2	S14:	**° yeah °**
3		(.)
4	S15:	**stands out**
5		(.)
6	S1:	was?
		what?

Prior to this excerpt, the other participants have been speaking in a mix of German and English whereas S15 has stuck to German. In the middle of English talk, S1 repairs in German to S15 (line 6), even though S15 has spoken English. This points to an association of German with this particular speaker; however, this phenomenon is not found anywhere else in the present data.

In these communities of practice, switching for side-comments has both discourse-related and participant-related functions, and these switches are often used to ensure accuracy and comprehension. Learners may switch to English for a side-comment for participant-related reasons – they can speak faster and express themselves more efficiently in English. These switches may also provide contrast and contextualize the difference between task talk and non-task talk. This kind of contextualization surfaces repeatedly in non-classroom communities (Auer 1984: 42; Woolard 1988: 65; Giacalone Ramat 1995: 51; Alfonzetti 1998: 191-192). In the next example, S16 is planning job interview questions for a role play. In line 3, she briefly switches to English to contextualize a side-comment which ensures the accuracy of her utterance.

Example 9: Discourse-related code-switch (int)

1	S16:	sprechen sie englisch französisch- (.) *do you speak english french- (.)*
2		welche fremdsprachen sprechen sie. *which foreign languages do you speak.*
3 →		(.) ° **right?** °
4	S17:	**yeah**
5	S16:	° ↓**yeah** °

A few turns following this excerpt, the same speaker uses the German equivalent *richtig* 'right' to check the correctness of another utterance. This suggests that this switch, rather than reflecting a lexical gap, is fully discourse-related, the contrast between English and German used to contextualize the side-comment.

In example 10, group members are preparing a job interview role play. S17 switches to English for a side-comment, commenting on the difficulty of differentiating between the two German words *Arbeitsnehmer* 'employee' and *Arbeitsgeber* 'employer'.

Example 10: Discourse-related code-switch (int)

1	S16:	ich auch? (.) und dann du bist die:- me too? (.) and then you're the:-
2	S18:	chef? *boss?*
3	S16:	ab- (.) arbeit(.)nehmer? (.) arbeitgeber? *em- (.) employ-(.)ee? (.) employer?*
4	S18:	ar[beitgeber *em[ployer*
5	S17:	[[arbeitgeber [*employer*
6	(.)	
7 →	S17:	**yeah** ((laughter)) **i know that's so confusing**

This switch and the laughter that accompany it contextualize the utterance in line 7 as an instance of the speaker stepping outside of the task for a moment to comment on it. Of particular interest here is that the interlocutors negotiate the difference between the two terms in German, and only once the negotiation is complete does S17 make the comment in English. As in example 9, this seems to point towards discourse-related, rather than participant-related alternation.[37]

There are other instances which suggest that members of these communities of practice orient to both the contrastive potential of CS as well as appropriateness of code choice in the classroom. Although recorder talk only occurs four times in the data, interlocutors consistently use English to talk about the tape recorders. In example 11, S4 and S5 negotiate the meaning of the on-topic talk in monolingual German (it appears that S4 went on a field trip to a farm and saw horses mating), but switch to English to talk about the recorders, beginning in line 14.

[37]Several strikingly similar examples are found in the data: group members use German to discuss complex topics, but then a speaker switches to English to make a side-comment.

Example 11: Discourse-related code-switch (adv)

```
1     S4:   wir- (.) wir (..) haben (..) pferden? (.) sehen? (.)
            we- (.) we (..) saw (..) horses? (.) saw? (.)

2     ?:    [was?
            [what?
            [
3     S4:   [machen liebe?
            [making love?

4     all:  ((laughter))

5     S5:   machen liebe?
            making love?

6     ?:    (      sex) ((laughter))

7     S5:   *gewältätigt yeah
            *raped yeah

8     S4:   *gewältätigt [(.) gemütlich
            *raped       [(.) pleasant
                         [
9     S5:                [yeah

10    ?:    interessant (.) eee[ew
            interesting (.) eee[ew
                               [
11    S4:                      [laut (.) die pferd schreien
                               [loud (.) the horses scream

12          ((makes horse sound))

13    all:  ((wild laughter))

14 →  S5:   this is all on tape

15    all:  ((laughter))

16    S4:   i know i don't do good on tape. (..) i feel like i'm-

17    ?:    this will be entertaining

18    S4:   yeah. my name's bo:b

19    all:  ((laughter))
```

It is clear from the German task talk that these speakers are capable of discussing complicated, unusual topics in German. It is unlikely that they are incapable of talking about the recorder in German, and they are not too lazy to use German to express new things, so it is doubtful that this switch is participant-related. Rather, the switch may occur for contrastive purposes: language alter-

nation is often used to contextualize a move between on-topic and off-topic talk in non-classroom communities (Auer 1988: 208; Alfonzetti 1998:197-198). Curiously enough, there is a very similar example of a French/English bilingual using CS for recorder talk, given in Poplack (1988:229).[38] In addition, this excerpt suggests that learners may have perceptions of which language is appropriate to use in which situations. As further examination of the data will suggest (see pp. 66-67), it appears that, in these classrooms, English is used to discuss 'real time' issues. Dealing with the recorders is one of these issues.

5.2.4 Participant-related language alternation

Learners readily acknowledge their difficulties in expressing themselves in German and are aware that they switch to English as a trade-off for long pauses or communication breakdown.[39] At the same time, because of the language learning setting, learners have a strong preference for accurate, neutral German. To deal with the tensions between these two tendencies, members of these communities of practice make use of several strategies, including collaboration for correctness and switching to English for lexical items. By collaborating to produce correct forms, interlocutors work together to create meaningful and accurate utterances for the on-record talk. In example 12, S12 struggles to express herself, but her interlocutors help her find appropriate wording to talk about

[38]The data excerpt is as follows:
Interviewer: C'est juste un petit micro, il y a une clip tu peux mettre sur son gilet là.
'It's just a small mike, there's a clip you can put on your sweater.'
Informant: **I'm a star!**

[39]Participants reported the following in the questionnaires: "When I get stuck on a word or phrasing I switch to English because it is frustrating to sit there and hem and haw and not be able to express yourself. It really halts a conversation if you are talking to someone"; "Sometimes I get flustered and I temporarily forget the word I am looking for – which is the second most likely reason I switch back to English when I am speaking German (the first reason is because I don't know)"; "Up to a point, switching to English can solidify understanding of German concepts, but it can become a crutch that prevents being fully comfortable with speaking and listening to German".

the differences between Canadian and German university students.

Example 12: Participant-related code-switch (adv)

```
1     S12:  ↓ja studentenleben? uh viel studenten in kanada arbeiten?
            ↓yeah student life? uh lots of students in canada work?

2           uh als sie gehen zu- nach (.) universität
            uh while they go in- to (.) university

3           ((laughter)) und in deutschland (.) uh
            ((laughter)) and in germany (.) uh

4  →        (...) <crap how do you say very few>

5     (.)

6     S1:   wen[iger?
            few[er?
               [
7     S3:      [wenig[[er ja
               [few  [[ er yeah
                     [[
8     S11:           [[nicht viel?
                     [[ not many?

9     S3:   ja
            yeah

10    S12:  nicht so viel? [(.) arbeit?
            not so many?   [(.) work?
                           [
11    S3:                  [° ja        ja °
                           [° yeah       yeah °
```

In line 4, S12 pauses and hesitates before requesting the lexical item 'very few'. She contextualizes her request with a switch to English and an increase in speed; both cues suggest that she wishes to put German 'on hold' for as short a time as possible. The speed and overlapping of interlocutors' responses suggests that they also orient to making this repair sequence brief. In lines 7 and 9, S3 evaluates the suggestions, orienting to accuracy. Finally, S12 reformulates her utterance in line 10 and S3 provides feedback, confirming its appropriateness and closing this collaborative sequence. Throughout this recording (approximately nine minutes long), S12 requests many lexical items in the same way, and every time, a few interlocutors provide overlapping suggestions, the correct phrase is negotiated, and the interaction continues. This kind of collaboration

is unlike teacher talk: although the same speaker requests the lexical items, all interlocutors contribute phrases or evaluations of the correctness of the phrases. No one interlocutor acts as a teacher-like 'authority'.[40]

Similar instances of collaboration between learners are found in many language learning classrooms (Brooks & Donato 1994; Antón & DiCamilla 1999; Swain & Lapkin 2000) . This research has demonstrated that learners use scaffolding and collaborative dialogue (in the L1 and the L2) as a way to deal with mental processing of the L2 and as a way to balance the social and cognitive demands of L2 learning during group work. As Swain & Lapkin (2000: 254) point out, "the knowledge building that learners have collectively accomplished becomes a tool for the further individual use of their second language. Initially socially constructed, their joint resolution may serve them individually".

In these data, participant-related alternation is often used to deal with gaps in lexical knowledge, which appear to be the greatest obstacle to flowing or fluent speech for these learners.[41] Such instances of alternation are understood by learners and researchers as "rescue devices" or "communicative strateg[ies] for getting oneself out of a predicament caused by limited lexical resources in L2" (Lüdi 2003: 176). Drawing on English in order to circumvent long pauses and potential communication breakdown, these instances of alternation assist speakers make themselves understood (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2004: 509).

Lexical gap switches may be prefaced by hesitations, false starts, or changes in tempo, strategies which serve to buy the speaker some time to think of what to do with the lexical gap (cf. Cheng 2003: 68). In the following example, the

[40]There are a few instances of teacher-like other-initiated repair sequences in the data, in which one learner corrects another learner's utterance with a sequence similar to the I-R-E sequence. These instances, however, are initiated by one speaker from the advanced class, who had grown up English-German bilingual. Moreover, this speaker's orientation to teacher-like talk had an observable influence on her interpersonal relationships with other learners.

[41]Note that lexical gaps may only be a problem of temporary lexical access, or they may reflect the learner's proficiency level.

speaker, who grew up English/German bilingual, is describing a school trip. She pauses and slows her very fast tempo before switching to English for the lexical item 'tipsy' in line 5, which is uttered slowly and with question intonation.

Example 13: Participant-related code-switch (adv)

```
1     S19:  nee das war mit also (.) meiner klasse
            well no that was with (.) my class

2           und mein lehrer meinte nee dass wir kein-
            and my teacher thought that no we couldn't-

3           also (.) er hat DAUernd (.) mit seiner frau
            well (.) he had CONstantly (.) with his wife

4           sie ist auch mitgefahrn sie habn DAUernd wein getrunkn
            she came along too they drank wine CONstantly

5 →         also sie warn irgendwie immer (.) > >tipsy?< <
            so they were always kind of (.) > >tipsy?< <

6     S11:  ((lau[ghter))
                 [
7     S19:        [aber- [[[(laughter))
                  [but-  [[ ((laughter))
                         [[
8     ?:                 [[(laughter)
```

Strategies such as hesitations and false starts not only give the speaker time, but, together with emphasis, laughter, and rising intonation, may also act as cues that contextualize the switch as a lexical gap and signal that the speaker is aware of the switch.[42] Lexical gap switching may occur with or without this kind of contextualization. In example 14, S7 and S13 use English lexical items inserted into German discourse to help them express their thoughts about Valentine's Day.

Example 14: Participant-related code-switch (int)

```
1 → S7:   ja es ist fluffy
          yeah it is fluffy

2     all:  ((quiet laughter))
```

[42] As Poplack (1988: 229) points out, such contextualization cues serve as a "device having the effect of showing full awareness on the part of the speaker of using English".

```
3     S7:   ja.
            yeah.

4  →  S13:  weil es so (.) comMERcialized [(.) ist
            because it's so (.)            [comMERcialized
                                           [
5     S7:                                  [bestimmt (.) bestimmt ja
                                           [for sure (.) for sure yeah

6     S13:  und so [es- es hat kein [[(.) MEANing
            and so [it- it has no    [[ (.) MEANing
                   [                 [[
7     S7:          [ich glaube dass-[[ja
                   [i think that-    [[ yeah
```

While S13 uses hesitation and emphasis to contextualize her switches into English, S7 switches smoothly between German and English.[43]

In these data, the frequency and contextualization of lexical gap switching is roughly similar for speakers with low intermediate skills and highly proficient speakers. This suggests that, for this function of CS, language proficiency does not play an important role. Lüdi (2003: 177) argues:

> there is no clear correlation between this strategy ['translinguistic wording'; lexical gap switching] and the level of competence of the speaker because balanced bilinguals may use this strategy too and because the way non-native speakers perceive the situation (monolingual vs. bilingual, formal vs. informal) has an influence on their choice of translinguistic strategies.[44]

Although it seems likely that higher proficiency would decrease the frequency

[43] It is unclear in these data why some switches are smooth and others are marked. To some degree, this is clearly related to issues of temporary lack of access to the lexical items (as discussed in Zentella 1997: 99). On the other hand, however, researchers have demonstrated that, in non-classroom bilingual communities, the markedness or unmarkedness of switches is a function of language attitudes and perception of the setting and participant constellation. If the speaker has strong beliefs regarding language purity, she may produce strongly marked switches, even accompanied by a metalinguistic comment, to show her awareness of the switch (Poplack 1988: 233). Speakers may also negotiate the bilinguality of the interaction, and switching may be smooth or marked depending on whether interlocutors negotiate the talk as bilingual speech or not (Lüdi 2003: 174, 178). In example 15, an English lexical item is introduced with emphasis, then accepted into German talk smoothly.

[44] Obviously, native bilingual speakers also have to deal with temporary lexical gaps and lack of access on a regular basis, and that many of these speakers use this same kind of code-switching (Poplack 1988: 227; Zentella 1997: 99; Auer 1998: 6; Lüdi 2003: 178, 185). How native bilingual speakers perceive levels of formality and mono- vs. bilinguality influences their choices of strategies as well: setting, interlocutors, and topic will all influence whether and with which contextualization cues speakers insert lexical gap switches.

of lexical gap switching, proficiency level does not have a significant influence on the fact that speakers switch for lexical gaps, or the contextualization cues (pauses, hesitations, emphasis, laughter) that they often use when they switch for lexical gaps.

Lexical gap switching occurs more frequently in these data than do any other CS functions.[45] Switches like these have a bad reputation in the language classroom: learners and instructors fear that by switching for lexical gaps, learners become lazy, may not acquire a wide range of vocabulary, or lexical fossilization may even take place (cf. Cook 2001 and section 4.2.1). In some cases, it did appear that group members were using English as a crutch (cf. Clyne 1985; Swain & Lapkin 2000). However, at the same time, there is more to lexical gap switching than just crutching: speakers contextualize lexical gap switches with cues that signal their awareness of the appropriateness of language choice practices as well as their recognition of violations of these practices. Additionally, proficiency has little influence on the frequency and contextualization of switches in these data, and even fluent advanced speakers switched for lexical items.

5.2.5 The 'nerd' excerpt: A special case

In the following example, interlocutors use the English word 'nerd' repeatedly in German discourse. Although this excerpt appears, at first glance, to reflect a simple lexical gap for the German word for 'nerd', closer examination will demonstrate that the continued use of the word has discourse-related functions, and show how interlocutors situate themselves in relation to community preferences and practices. The interlocutors have completed the assigned dis-

[45] Approximately one in four turns has lexical item switching in these two classes.

cussion topic (school trips) and are making small talk about their high school experiences as they wait for other groups to finish the discussion.

Example 15: Participant- and discourse-related code-switch (adv)

1	?:	ja ich war in (.) **international baccalaureate** *yeah i was in (.)* ***international baccalaureate***
2 →		[und so ich war ein (.) **nerd** ((laughter)) [*and so i was a (.)* ***nerd*** *((laughter))*
		[
3	S5:	[[o:hh
4	S4:	**nerd**
5	?:	[**yeah** [
6	S5:	[ich war auch ein **nerd**! [*i was a* ***nerd*** *too!*
7	?:	((gasping inbreath))
8	S4:	ich war (..) die gegen(.)teil ein **nerd** *i was (..) the opp(.)osite of a* **nerd**
9	all:	((laughter))
10	S4:	[ich war nicht- [*i wasn't-*
		[
11	?:	[du warst **cool**! [*you were* ***cool!***
12	(.)	
13	S4:	[(ich schlaf-) [*(i slept-)*
		[
14	S5:	[du warst [[**cool**? [*you were* [[***cool?***
		[[
15	?:	[[**cool**? [ja [[***cool?*** [*yeah*
		[
16	S4:	[nein nein ich bin ein **dork** [*no no i'm a* **dork**
17	S5:	**oh that's the** [**opposite**
		[
18	S4:	[**a dork and a nerd are very different**
19		(.) **AVenues**

20	?:	((laughter))
21	S5:	<aber et- (.) das ist nicht-> *<but someth- (.) that is not->*
22		(.) n- das GEGenteil von **nerd** *(.) n- the OPPosite of **nerd***
23	S4:	**well no but i'm not-**
24		**i'm at the opposite of studying and being smart**
25		**(..) i don't study and i'm not smart**

The word 'nerd' is marked when first introduced in line 2: there is a pause preceding it and it is followed by laughter. S4 repeats the word once and the interlocutors quickly adopt the word 'nerd'. With subsequent use of the word, it appears unmarked, integrated smoothly into the German talk. In lines 11 and 16, the additional English-referent words 'cool' and 'dork' are introduced, without marking, into German discourse as well.

Although the initial use of 'nerd' instead of a German term is related to the speaker's competence, the word acquires discourse-related meaning as it is recycled by three different speakers.[46] Continued use of the word establishes textual coherence, the same way that the use of *Flur* 'corridor' inserted into Spanish discourse does for the Spanish-German speakers in Auer (1998: 6). Repeated use of the word by several interlocutors also legitimizes its use. Lüdi (2003: 182-183, 185) provides several examples of similar interactions, one in which fluent French-German bilinguals use a German term inserted into French discourse repeatedly; another in which a native speaker of French recycles a German insertion into French discourse by a German-speaking French learner. When the native speaker picks up the non-native speaker's switch, "she provides legitimacy to her partner's use of German and confirms the bilinguality of the

[46] 'Nerd' could potentially be seen as a borrowing a single, frequently switched lexical item that shows "a high degree of social integration" (Poplack & Sankoff 1984: 103). After all, it seems unlikely that speakers would use any other word to refer to this cultural phenomenon.

situation again, [...] without annulling its exolinguality" (Lüdi 2003: 184).[47]

Moreover, even if one of the participants had been familiar with the German equivalent of 'nerd', it would not have been relevant in this context. 'Nerd' carries a specific cultural meaning for these speakers, referring to a specific group of people in a high school setting, and is part of a set of sociocultural referents which includes 'dork' and 'cool'. The Spanish-German speakers in Auer (1998: 7), inserting the German word *Nichtraucher* 'non-smoker' into Spanish discourse, make use of the same strategy of referencing a culture-specific concept with a switch. As Auer (1998: 6) points out, these kinds of switches "often evoke episode-external ('ethnographic') knowledge about interaction and cultural contexts".

Language alternation in the 'nerd' excerpt also has other functions. In lines 17 and 18, S5 and S6 switch to English to comment on the opposite of 'nerd'. It is possible, given the practices of this community, that these speakers are using English for contrastive purposes or to indicate language preference (S4 uses English more often than most other advanced learners, and reports in his questionnaire that he often gets flustered trying to speak German). However, I suggest that these speakers may also be engaging perceptions of how English is used to discuss real-life topics objectively (see pp. 66-67). As such, S5 and S4, using German to negotiate English words that are bound to a specific sociocultural setting, occasionally step into English to make 'objective', evaluative statements about these English words.

This excerpt demonstrates the potential of CS to index many features of the interaction and the speakers simultaneously: instances of CS in the 'nerd' excerpt index the speakers' language proficiencies and preferences, as well as contextualize contrast, textual coherence, objectivity, and specific sociocultural

[47] Exolinguality is a situation in which interlocutors have unequal competencies – for example, native speaker and non-native speaker interaction.

meaning. Furthermore, the interlocutors' use of German to discuss the meaning of an English word points towards the potential of classroom group talk to be negotiated as bilingual and bicultural (cf. Lüdi 2003: 186).

This analysis has demonstrated that members of these communities of practice use a wide range of participant-related and discourse-related CS functions. CS in these classrooms is not as simple as switching to English for lexical gaps in German. Speakers collaborate to fill lexical gaps, use language alternation for contrastive purposes, and exploit the multiplicity of languages, roles, and identities present in the language classroom to make statements about their orientations to the interaction.

5.3 Tendencies in these communities of practice

From the analysis of CS behaviour, we observe several general tendencies in the communities of practice. While there is, naturally, a general preference for speaking as much German as possible, there are also other preferences and tensions present. Speakers orient to the classroom setting, their interlocutors' proficiencies, their identities as classroom learners, and their identities as group members. Learners signal their orientation to the interaction not just with language alternation, but also with conversational structures such as extended repair sequences, backchanneling and scaffolding. While some of these tendencies are similar to tendencies found in non-classroom communities, others come about due to the classroom setting and learners' expectations, attitudes, and prior experiences with language learning. These tendencies are conversational enactments of learners' understandings of their roles as classroom language learners and members of these communities of practice.

Orienting to the language learning setting, learners speak as much German

as possible (see examples 2 and 3). Learners also help each other stick to German by providing lexical items when speakers hesitate, anticipating and circumventing a switch into English. In example 16, S2 is having difficulty producing the past participle of the verb *gehen* 'to go'.

Example 16: German-only talk (adv)

1	S2:	uh- für zwei wochen (.) habe ich nicht (.) *uh- for two weeks (.) i didn't have to (.)*
2		in ein klassenzimmer ge- gegeh- ge[gangen ((laughter)) *in a classroom g- go- [go*
3 →	?:	[[gesessen? *[sit?*
4	S2:	oh ja gesessen *oh yeah sit*

After two false starts, one of the other group members assists S2 by providing another, more appropriate verb in line 3. In line 4, S2 acknowledges the assistance, repeats the correct verb, and continues his turn in German, without having to resort to English.

However, for many members, comprehension is of higher priority than monolingual German. The community's preference for comprehension over German-only talk is enacted in several ways, including anticipatory switching into English for lexical items and upkeep of the interaction (see examples 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, and 14). As one of the respondents in the advanced class aptly reported, "my German classmates often switch from German to English. I think because they feel bad if others don't understand if they speak only German". The following example, in which the group discusses study abroad options, demonstrates how speakers provide English translations of their utterances if interlocutors appear to not comprehend.

Example 17: Participant- and discourse-related code-switch (adv)

```
1     S20:  wenn- we- uh- als du in deutschland (.) gehen (.)
            when- wh- uh- when you (.) go to germany (.)

2           musst du (.) mit deine programm?
            do you have to (.) with your program?

3           oder andere kurs oder?
            or other courses or what?

4     (.)

5     S21:  mhmm.=
                =
6  →  S20:        =do you have do go with a program?

7     S21:  ° mm ja    [um °
            ° mm yeah  [um °
                       [
8     S9:              [ja ik- in deutschland
                       [yeah i- in germany

9           muss ik (.) wirtschaft studieren
            i have to (.) study business
```

S20 stumbles over the formulation of the question in the first line, and S21 replies in line 5, but the response is inappropriate as the second part of this adjacency pair. S20 provides an almost immediate rewording of the question in English: it appears that S21's minimal response leads S20 to believe that S21 has misunderstood her question, and she translates the question into English. Therefore, this switch is related to the language skills of both participants. Not only does S20 have difficulty expressing her idea in German (note, in lines 1-3, the many pauses, false starts, and the offering of several options to try to make the meaning clearer) and thus open the door for repair, S21 has also signalled through her insufficient response that she may not have understood the question.

However, the fact that the translation repair comes so quickly in line 6 is notable. In this example, S21's responses to both the German and English versions of the questions are minimal (lines 5 and 7). Instead of S21 responding to the question, another speaker, S9, takes over the turn in line 8. Because S21 provides minimal responses for both questions, it is possible that S21 understood

both questions but does not have an answer. However, S20, unsure that her German utterance was comprehensible, uses translation to resolve the potential misunderstanding.

This kind of translation highlights an important feature of this community of practice – the importance speakers place on being understood. As Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain (2004: 507) point out in their consideration of a similar German to English translation example in an upper-level content-based German classroom,

> adding the English to the German in her second response could also be an indication that [the speaker] is orienting to the setting as a language learning environment in which everyone, including herself, is less proficient in German than in English. In adding the English, she may want to make sure she is understood.

In this community of practice, speakers often use alternation to English as a low-level strategy which guarantees interlocutor comprehension.

In addition to comprehension, accuracy is also important to members of these communities of practice. The classroom setting, instructor's presence, and course materials, along with the learners' own perceptions of language learning and university-level coursework, contribute to this community of practice's preference for accurate, neutral German, and for speakers to not only produce correct forms but also to understand how the correct forms are produced (see examples 9 and 12). Example 18 demonstrates how interlocutors orient to both comprehension and correctness, using meta-talk to discuss an unfamiliar German word.

Example 18: Participant-related code-switch (adv)

1	S2:	habt ihr	je: [(.) uh auslandsstudium?
		have you guys e:ver	*[(.) uh studied abroad?*
2	S12:		[entschuldigung ( )
			[excuse me ( )
3	(..)		
4	S1:	hmm?=	
		=	
5	S3:	=ich?	
		=me?	
6	S2:	habt IHR	je (.) u:h [(.) auslander-
		have YOU GUYS ever (.) u:h	*[(.) foreigner-*
7 →	S1:		[↑↓je:? was ist je?
			[↑↓e:ver? what is ever?
8	S2:	**ever**	
9	(..)		
10	S1:	je:? [**like-**	
		e:ver? [***like-***	
11	S2:	[	
		[ja *yah-eh	
		*[yes *j - e*	
12	S12:	hast [du ja?	
		have [you yes?	
13	S11:	[	
		[° **that looks like** °	
14	S2:	*yah-eh	
		**j - e*	
15	S12:	*yah-eh?=	
		**j - e? =*	
16	S2:	=	
		=not *yah-AH *yah-EH	
		=not **j-A *j-E*	
17	S12:	((laughter))	
18	S1:	[**i've NEVer heard**	[[**that word before**
		[	[[
19	all:	[((laughter))	[[
			[[
20	S2:		[[**jay-ee** je?
21	S12:	**↓jay-ee**	
22	S1:	**i've never heard of**	[**that before**
			[
23	S2:		[hast du je
			[have you ever

24	S1:	**[no**
		[
25	S11:	[ich habe es ges- gesehen aber nicht (.) gewusst?
		[i've se- seen it but not (.) known?
26		was es bedeutet?
		what it meant?
27	(.)	
28	all:	((laughter))
29	S2:	a:h
30	S1:	**okay now that makes sense** (.) u:m- meine sch-
		okay now that makes sense *(.) u:m- my sc-*

Immediately after S2 introduces the word *je* in line 1, S12 appears to request clarification (although it is unclear if S12 is referring to S2's use of *je* or to some other aspect of conversation). S2's second attempt is interrupted by S1's explicit request for clarification in line 7. In English, interlocutors negotiate the spelling of the word and their familiarity with it from lines 11 to 24. Due to S2's incorrect spelling of the word (German 'j' is pronounced 'yott' not 'yah' for spelling), S12 confuses *je* 'ever' and *ja* 'yes' between lines 11 and 16. In line 25, S11 returns to German to summarize her experience with the word. The sequence is closed once S1, who originally requested clarification of the word, confirms her comprehension in line 30, and interlocutors resume task talk in German.

This example and the previous example illustrate how interlocutors often suspend German-only practices to ensure comprehension and accuracy. While some groups tended to deal with potential gaps in comprehension as quickly and efficiently as possible, as illustrated in example 17, other groups suspend on-record talk for numerous turns in order to fill in lexical gaps and provide commentary on their learning experiences, as in example 18.

Equally as salient as the orientation to correctness is learners' orientation to the difficulty of self-expression. Almost every learner acknowledged in the

questionnaires that they struggle with German oral production. As such, in these communities of practice, there is tension between speaking correctly and speaking at all. Reflecting this tension, speakers may use frequent one-word switches into English to minimize cognitive demands and to compensate for gaps in their vocabularies (see examples 13, 14, and 15). As well, speakers use repair sequences such as reformulations and accuracy-oriented side-comments (see examples 3, 9, and 12) to negotiate both the content and the form of an utterance. In the next example, S22 and S23 are role-playing an interview between East and West Berliners after the fall of the Berlin Wall. S22 struggles with the correct form of the reflexive pronoun *sich* as well as with the lexical item *Meinungsfreiheit* 'freedom of opinion', reformulating his utterance several times.

Example 19: German-only talk (int)

1	S22:	**okay**. (.) so (.) u:h freust du uh *sich- (.) **or** dich
		okay. *(.) so (.) u:h are *you- looking forward (.)* ***or*** *you*
2		u:h u:h die u:h *meisen- (..) *meisefreiheit
		*u:h u:h the u:h *opinion- (..) *freedom of opinion*
3		und (.) und presse(.)freiheit und- und
		and (.) and freedom of the (.) press and- and
4		u:h und ja! meinung- (.) meinungsfr- freiheit?
		u:h and yeah! freedom- (.) freedom of op- opinion?
5	S23:	welche (.) verben?
		which (.) verbs?
6	S22:	uh freust du? (.)
		uh are you looking? (.)
7		freust (.) du (.) s- (.) dich?
		are (.) you (.) y- (.) looking forward?

Because of the number of reformulations and false starts, S23 loses track of the meaning of the utterance and requests clarification in line 5. Note, however, how both speakers successfully manage self-expression, comprehension, and correctness with German-only talk.

Finally, in the group interaction of these learners, there is tension between (instructive) teacher-talk and (collaborative) group talk. It appears that the learners, all of whom have had classroom language learning experience, perceive group work to be different from teacher-student interaction. Rather than the high level of monitoring present in teacher-student talk, interlocutors rarely do other-repair or explicitly request clarification in groups, and allow even major errors to pass by (note how, in example 19, S23 repairs for comprehension, not for correctness). Interlocutors circumvent the need for monitoring and explicit feedback by signalling their comprehension to the speaker.[48] In example 14, S7 signals his comprehension of S13's utterances with heavy backchanneling in lines 5 and 7. Example 6 is another example in which interlocutors backchannel heavily. Speakers often use strategies such as checking and translation as resources to casually and yet effectively ensure that they are understood, without having to resort to more formal comprehension-checking measures, which evoke teacher talk.

5.4 Using code-switching to orient to multiple identities

CS behaviour in these communities of practice is complex and has many functions, allowing speakers to provide information about proficiency and activity type, and to signal shifts in role relationships and orientation to community practices. Many of the ideas about bilingualism and second language acquisition discussed in section 4 are part of members' understandings of language learning. As Rifkin (2000: 394) demonstrates, North American adult language learners have definite expectations of the language learning experience and strong opin-

[48] Stubbs (1983: 61) hypothesizes that monitoring signals rights and power relationships between speakers, and high levels of monitoring and other-repair might imply unequal power relationships between group members.

ions about how, when, where, and by whom second languages are best learned. These understandings, expectations, and opinions manifest themselves in learners' language attitudes and behaviour in the language classroom. Learners not only enact their perceptions of how they think German *should* be learned: they are also aware of and highlight, in interaction, the contrast between their expectations and beliefs, and their real behaviour. I suggest that members of these communities of practice conceptualize this as the contrast between the behaviour of the ideal language learner and the members' actual behaviour.

The concept of the ideal language learner appears in language learning strategy research in the form of the 'good language learner'. According to this research, the good language learner exhibits several characteristics and behaviours: she makes the effort to communicate in the L2; she desires to practice, guess, and take risks; she uses positive learning strategies, and she is prepared to monitor the form and content of both her speech and the speech of others (Rubin 1975). These features are mirrored in the construct of the ideal language learner in these communities of practice, who, additionally, speaks monolingual German for the duration of the class, has relevant things to say about the task and the appropriate vocabulary to express herself, dealing with lexical gaps by rephrasing or using descriptive strategies rather than language alternation.[49]

To highlight the contrast between this rather unrealistic construct and members' real behaviour, speakers use what Goffman calls a change in footing: "a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (Goffman 1981: 128). In other words, speakers make use of multiple frames of reference which are linked to multiple identities (Heller 1988: 4-5; Hutchby & Wooffitt

[49]This may not be a realistic goal for learners, but as Blyth (1995) demonstrates, it is of little help to learners' motivation and goal-setting that most of their models for L2 use – the textbook characters – are monolingual target language users and that almost all textbook and classroom activities assume monolingual target language talk.

1998: 147). For example, the identity of the ideal language learner is associated with a frame of reference, and the identity of the individual struggling to speak German is associated with another frame of reference.

There are a few similar examples of language learners making use of multiple identities in the classroom. Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain (2004: 516-517) present an example of a classroom learner switching to the L1 to shift between her role as participant in the group discussion and her role as a future test taker. Implicit in this shift is a redefinition of the task at hand, and the discussion is contextualized not as 'learning for its own sake' but rather as a means to 'learning for the exam'. The speaker thus juggles her present role with her future role using CS.

Kramsch (1993: 52) discusses a case in which German L1 students are doing an English grammar exercise. As the class works through decontextualized statements in English ('we stopped reading this book last year in July'), one student switches to German to object to the truth of the statement, saying *Stimmt ja net!* 'It's not true!'. As Kramsch points out, this student temporarily suspends his role as a 'dutiful student', changing footing to object to the artificiality of the exercise. This example illustrates how speakers may make use not only of actual, palpable identities but also of idealized identities to make meaning.[50]

The idealized concept of the ideal learner is part of the shared repertoire of these communities of practice. Similar to the way in which conversation-internal meaning is negotiated by interlocutors, elements of the community's shared

[50]Martin-Jones (1995) provides an example of instructors using CS to balance multiple roles. South-Asian bilingual teaching assistants have the responsibility of helping immigrant children integrate into the British school system. The conflict between the assistants' responsibility to integrate these children and their desire to nurture the children expressed itself in CS. To reconcile their responsibilities with their desires, assistants would switch between curriculum-oriented talk in English and learner-oriented talk in Panjabi. "The bilingual assistant clearly used code-switching as a resource for managing conflicting communicative demands; demands stemming from her dual role" (Martin-Jones 1995: 107): she would use Panjabi to 'mother' the children, and English to give the children access to the curriculum.

repertoire are negotiated through constant (though not necessarily conscious or premeditated) repetition and reformulation of community beliefs and practices (Eckert 2000: 38). Questionnaire respondents made frequent references to the practices of the ideal learner, providing descriptions of what learners *should* do instead of switching to English. Moreover, as the following data excerpts will demonstrate, by enacting these multiple identities during group interaction, members confirm and redefine the gap between how they think they should talk and how they actually talk in the classroom, and explore the ambiguity between the artificiality of group work and 'real life'.

5.4.1 Examples of multiple identities

The following examples demonstrate the changes in footing that speakers use to make relevant multiple identities and conflicting tensions present in the classroom. It must be emphasized that there are several examples of speakers using CS to contextualize these changes in footing, which include 'doing being lazy' and orienting to facts and opinions which exist outside of the frame of task talk.

In example 20, the speaker is struggling to express herself in German, and in frustration, switches to English.

Example 20: Participant-related code-switch (adv)

1	S12:	ich habe *arbeide (.) ↓o:h *jede? ° *jede **weekend?** ° *i have *work (.) ↓o:h *every? ° *every **weekend?** °
2 →		**oh who cares** [(.) **like the whole weekend?** [
3	all:	[((laughter))

This excerpt occurs near the end of class – group members have completed discussion topics and are making small talk about the weekend. S12 has been struggling throughout the group interaction with German lexical items. After a

hesitation, hedge, and a reformulation in line 1, she abandons her attempts to speak German and switches to English with a metalinguistic comment in line 2. This comment serves to contextualize S12's change in footing from the role of ideal learner to her role as someone who struggles to express herself in German and sometimes forgets even simple words.

The relevance of the comment is acknowledged by the rest of the group, who all laugh at this utterance. Jefferson, Sacks & Schegloff's (1991: 160) examination of the functions of laughter after improper talk suggests that, following the 'impropriety' of giving up on German-only talk, the interlocutors' laughter serves the function of moving the interaction into a more informal or intimate mode. I would also suggest that this laughter communicates the group members' solidarity with S12, since all of them all deal with the difficulty of self-expression in German.

What is considered 'improper' talk depends on the context. In the next example, group members have just realized that they will not have to present their role play (an interview between a West German soldier and a citizen of East Berlin).

Example 21: Participant-related code-switch (int)

1	S7:	heute haben wir sol- soldat [name]	
		today we have sol- soldier [name]	
2		und- (.) **citizen** [[name]	
		*and- (.) **citizen** [[name]*	
3	all:	[	[((laughter))
4 →	S7:	**sounds good.**	[((laughter)) **cuz it doesn't matter.**
5	?:		[**yeah!**

S7's comment refers to the group's prior attempts to use German lexical items and descriptive strategies rather than English. Once they realize they do not have to perform the role play, group members partially slide out of the ideal learner role and use more English lexical items in their talk. While English

words are considered more inappropriate if learners expect to present their role play, their understandings of how much English is appropriate changes once they do not have to present their work.

Bell's (1990, 2001) concept of *referee design* is useful here. This concept refers to the design of talk for an "absent but salient audience", or in the case of classroom learners working in groups, "an idealised native speaker of the L2 or the teacher" or the future audience of a role play (Hancock 1997: 220). While engaging in group discussions, members orient to this absent audience, trying to speak monolingual German and avoid English, even though all interlocutors understand English. However, when these learners realize that there will be no future audience for their dialogue, they relax their expectations. In both of these examples, speakers enact the practice of 'doing being lazy', which is signalled by more frequent switches into English.

The difference between the ideal learner role and the real-life learner role allows for ambiguity in task talk. Playing the role of an ideal group participant may extend not only to the form of utterances but also to their content, and interlocutors may have difficulty determining whether a speaker's utterances are produced in the context of task talk or in the context of the speaker's own life. There are several instances of interlocutors stepping out of task talk and switching to English to verify the objective truth of a statement made in the context of task talk. In the next example, group members are talking about their jobs.

Example 22: Discourse-related code-switch (adv)

1		S19:	wo arbeitest du? *where do you work?*
2		S12:	u:h ich arbeite (.) bei [name of restaurant] *u:h i work (.) at [name of restaurant]*
3	→	S19:	↑↓**o:h!** (.) [↑↓**REAlly?**
4		S12:	[[**yeah yeah**

After S12 responds in German to S19's question, S19 switches to English in line 3. S19, who grew up English/German bilingual, is capable of expressing herself in German, but she uses English in this case to step outside of the context of the task and determine the objective truth of S12's statement.[51]

In the next example, group members are brainstorming a motto for a car advertisement. After about twenty turns of German talk with a few English lexical items inserted, S9 switches to English at the end of the brainstorming session to make a real-time evaluative comment.

Example 23: Discourse-related code-switch (adv)

1		S2:	vielleicht deutsche auto für alle deutsche? *maybe german car for all germans?*
2		S8:	↓ja *↓yeah*
3		(4)	
4	→	S9:	**i would buy it** ((laughter))

Once the group negotiates a satisfactory motto for the car and it is evaluated positively in line 2, there is a four-second pause in line 3, after which S9 switches to English to report her opinion on the car. The switch to English contextualizes S9's utterance as an objective statement, contrasting her real opinion with the task talk. Gumperz (1982: 80-81) discusses similar examples, in several bilingual communities, where speakers use language alternation to distinguish between personalized and objective statements and to establish the degree of personal involvement.

[51] The reasoning behind this switch is confirmed in the data: not only do the role play activities blur the boundaries between the characters and the actual learners, but learners also sometimes playfully continue acting out a character even after the role play is done.

5.5 Conclusions

In these communities of practice, members change footing between several roles and identities, negotiating the gaps between their actual classroom behaviour and their perceptions of how classroom language learners should behave, and between their identities as learners participating in group activities and their identities as autonomous individuals. CS is one way that these perceptions and identities are enacted and made relevant to interlocutors.

In order to illustrate how each community of practice develops its own perceptions of classroom language learning and practices for contextualizing those perceptions, let us more closely examine the data collected for the pilot study for this research. The perceptions and expectations of the pilot study participants differed markedly from those of the thesis data collection participants, and these differences were reflected in their CS behaviour.

5.5.1 Comparison of results from pilot study

As discussed in the methodology section (section 3), the CS behaviour of the pilot study data differed significantly from the CS behaviour of the thesis data. These differences appear to be related to students' perceptions of the classroom and to participant comfort level.

In almost all cases in the pilot study data, switches into English (most commonly lexical item switches) were marked with metalinguistic commentary, emphasis, and/or laughter. How the switches were marked appeared to be related to participants' perceptions of the classroom community of practice. Speakers in the advanced class appeared to believe that 'good' German does not include German/English language alternation; switches and requests for lexical items were contextualized with embarrassed laughter, a decrease in volume, and apologetic,

hesitant metalinguistic comments. In the intermediate class, speakers appeared to have different expectations of the classroom community of practice. Speakers approached their gaps in knowledge with humour rather than frustration, and frequently collaborated to find appropriate lexical items.[52]

Although instances of contrastive discourse-related switching were found, German was used in both classes as the 'working' language, while English was more consistently used for meta-talk and task management. In the same way that the Italian/German children in Auer's (1984, 1988) studies preferred German, speakers in these classrooms had a distinct preference for English. As such, English was the 'switched-to' language, the language with greater interactional value (Auer 1988: 206).

Although there are many instances of marking in the thesis data, they do not cluster around language alternation and requests for lexical items to the same degree or with the same consistency as in the pilot study data. English clearly has a higher interactional value in the thesis data, but the disparity in value between German and English (the 'division of labour' between German and English) is not as strongly marked as it is in the pilot study data. These differences are related to participants' expectations of classroom language learning and language use: while the advanced students perceived the classroom as a place to speak monolingual, correct German, the intermediate students perceived the classroom as a place to continue acquiring German.[53] It is unclear, at this point, exactly why CS behaviour differs so greatly between the intermediate and advanced pilot study participants, and between the pilot study and thesis participants. Numerous external factors – including comfort level, group

[52]Language attitudes and perceptions had similar effects on CS behaviour in French/English bilingual communities in Ottawa and Hull (Poplack 1988).

[53]These expectations, in turn, are influenced in part by comfort level. As mentioned in section 3, participants in the pilot study were, on the whole, uncomfortable with and unsure of the objective of the pilot study and the presence of the recorders and outsider-researcher.

intimacy, setting, interlocutors' attitudes towards classroom language learning, and interlocutors' expectations and perceptions of the classroom – appear to influence classroom CS behaviour (cf. Martin 2003: 72).

As such, we cannot minimize the influence of perceptions and attitudes on CS behaviour. Despite the fact that their perceptions of language learning and CS were more positive than those of the pilot study participants, participants in the thesis data collection reported that they are easily frustrated and discouraged by not being able to express themselves fully in German, and that they are hampered by their small vocabularies and weak descriptive skills. As one respondent reported, some learners believe that they speak a "mush of several languages" which is comprehensible only to themselves, and that they use English only as a crutch. Moreover, some participants believe that highly proficient bilingual speakers only switch to accommodate learners, not for other functions.[54]

The result of these perceptions – learners' beliefs that switching to English is often an unacceptable strategy for dealing with lexical gaps, that they themselves only use CS to compensate for their incomplete knowledge of German, and that highly proficient bilinguals rarely code-switch – is that participants may see CS as a characteristic of their status as learners. The analysis contradicts these perceptions, demonstrating that these speakers use CS in the same skilled ways that non-classroom bilingual speakers do, but learners' perceptions play an important role in the learning process as well.

[54]For example, when asked whether proficient bilingual speakers switch between languages, respondents reported: "When the discussion becomes more in-depth, they might switch into English to avoid confusion, but still tell us the German translation. So we can understand them"; "Yes [...] For our comprehension as students, so we can understand concepts better"; "sometimes teachers will when they have something important to say [...] so that those of us who are less proficient can understand when they have more complex things to say"; "No, they don't seem to switch often (except [the instructor] because she is telling us what the word means)".

6 *Implications for code-switching and classroom research*

6.1 Pedagogical implications

Several researchers suggest that introducing the systematic use of L1 into classroom talk is positive because it makes the classroom a more authentically bilingual space (Blyth 1995; Cook 2001). Teaching methodologies which incorporate CS do exist (e.g. the New Concurrent Method and Community Language Learning; see Cook 2001: 410-413) and have been implemented successfully in language classrooms (Giauque & Ely 1990 [cited in Blyth 1995]). Most of these methodologies, however, focus on beginner language acquisition and/or instructor language alternation, and it appears likely that the use of the L1 would be phased out as learners move beyond the beginner level.

It is questionable whether allowing classroom language learners to freely switch between languages would be beneficial to the learning experience. In such a classroom, evaluation procedures and monitoring would be challenging, and some learners might have difficulty adapting to such a classroom or moving to another class. Regardless of the connotative potential and value of classroom CS, classroom learners still require large amounts of L2 input and need to practice producing L2 output. In their study of L1 (English) use in French immersion classrooms, Swain and Lapkin (2000: 268) demonstrate that most of students' use of the L1 served "important cognitive and social functions" and that, on the whole, L1 use improved the quality of students' group work. Nevertheless, they suggest that, based on their findings, "the use of the L1 should not be prohibited in immersion classrooms, but neither should it be actively encouraged as it may substitute for, rather than support, second language learning".

Furthermore, the present study illustrates that even classroom learners with little experience with bilingual modes of talk are able to interpret the shades of

contextual meaning that CS can imply, and that they already possess the skills for collaborative talk and scaffolding. As such, it is arguable whether adult learners require explicit teacher input on how to switch or more teacher input for CS (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2004: 520).

Although the pedagogical implications of this study are potentially far-reaching, we must be cautious to encourage increased use of the L1 and CS in the language classroom. Institutionalizing the use of CS or even simply increasing the use of L1 in the classroom may not be the assistance that learners require in order to conceive of themselves as bilingual speakers. Rather than changing pedagogical practices, we need to consider learners' attitudes, motivations, and expectations about language learning and L2 use. Learners need to realize that the objective of becoming a bilingual is not to learn all possible kinds of vocabulary, registers, and styles in both languages – to try to become like the native speaker of the target language – but rather to learn which languages, vocabulary, registers, and styles are appropriate in which situations. Language learning is ongoing, and L2 knowledge is always changing, but not necessarily fossilizing. With more realistic objectives, language learners might find that the road to becoming a proficient L2 user is not blocked with as many obstacles as they thought.

Although learners' beliefs and goals are difficult to access, let alone change, there are several options for doing so. Exposure to other bilingual communities of practice appears to have a strong impact on learners' perceptions and expectations of bilingual talk.[55] In these classrooms, multilingual learners and learners with connections to other bilingual communities were more fluent speakers, had well-formed opinions about CS and language use, and switched between

[55]This statement is based on informal observation of the participants who were also members of non- classroom bilingual communities of practice (see footnote 14).

languages more readily.[56]

Exposure to other bilingual communities of practice plays a crucial role in making learners realize that bilinguals switch the same ways they do. Blyth (1995: 170) argues that language instructors and learners have long underestimated

> the profoundly beneficial impact of hearing the voices of ***nonnative speakers of a foreign language*** [. . . A]dopting a different set of language norms can have a felicitous effect on our students' motivation: Bilingual norms encourage students to see their 'competence glass' as half-full whereas monolingual norms make them see their glasses as half-empty. (italics in original).

Furthermore, instructors and researchers need to recognize the importance of group interaction in the formation of a classroom community of practice. Working together with their peers, learners process different input, get exposure to different styles of speaking and switching, and become more comfortable simply expressing themselves rather than always focusing on structure and form. Group members learn how to collaborate, scaffold, and pick up on the contextualization cues of other speakers – skills which are also useful in other bilingual communities of practice (Swain, Brooks & Tocalli-Beller 2002; Hall & Walsh 2002: 187). More than anything else, classroom language learners simply need exposure to a variety of bilingual speakers.

[56] Of the intermediate students, five are multilingual on a daily basis (that is to say, they use more than one language every day, not including German in the classroom). Of the advanced students, four are multilingual on a daily basis. These students appear to be among the heaviest code-switchers in the data.

6.2 Further research

Further research is required in several areas. Most importantly, further research into CS behaviour in language learning classrooms is required. As the contrast in CS behaviour between participants of the pilot study and the thesis data collection illustrates, there are many factors which influence the frequency, functions, and interpretation of CS in the classroom. In order to further determine potential benefits and effects of classroom CS, a wider range of classroom settings needs to be examined, and influences such as comfort level, language attitudes, interlocutors' expectations and perceptions of the classroom need to be systematically investigated. Further research also needs to establish the effects, if any, of proficiency level on classroom CS style.

It will also be important to establish the effects of exposure to other bilingual communities of practice on classroom language learners' expectations and perceptions of language learning, and whether this exposure initiates any changes in learners' CS behaviour. This would include further study of potential differences between learners who have language learning experience (and who are multilingual) and learners who are accustomed to functioning monolingually on a day-to-day basis, as well as examination of how these individuals use CS inside and outside of the classroom setting.

One intriguing tendency in these data is yet unaccounted for. There were three highly proficient, multilingual learners (two in the advanced class and one in the intermediate class) who presented unusual patterns of language alternation. Even though these speakers were capable of expressing themselves in German, they switched to English more often than most of their interlocutors. Although most of these switches appear to have conversational functions (for example, one speaker repeatedly switches to English to assert her opinion), they occur frequently and often there is no uptake from interlocutors (for this reason

these switches are not included in the analysis). It is possible that these speakers, because of the combination of their proficiency levels and their membership in other bilingual communities of practice, are using a type of code-mixing. More likely, however, these speakers, because of their proficiency levels, do not feel obligated to insist on monolingual German and go through the artifice of practicing during group interaction, when the activities are simple for them. More in-depth research would be needed, however, to make any valid claims about these speakers.

6.3 Potential drawbacks to this study

There are several drawbacks to this study which may affect the viability of generalizations about the data. A few important influences on CS behaviour were also neglected.

The activities that learners completed during recording were not necessarily representative of everyday classroom activities. Lessons taught by the instructors, rather than the researcher, were more varied: some teacher-centred work (i.e. grammar or culture lessons) was often balanced with shorter group discussions. Both instructors adjusted their lesson plans and normal classroom practices to accommodate this study, planning more in-depth discussion topics and giving learners more time to complete the discussion in order to maximize the data collection. Although grammar is an important part of the regular coursework of both classes, learners did not complete any form-related tasks during recording: the focus of all recorded activities was the content. Moreover, some minor differences in CS behaviour were noted between activities in which learners had to write something down (such as the job interviews and advertisements activities) and activities in which learners simply had to discuss their

opinions (such as the holidays, school tripsand study abroad activities). For the activities with written components, there were longer pauses in interaction, and there was a stronger emphasis on correctness when learners had to record their utterances. As a result, speakers produced more repair sequences and requests for spellings and correct phrasings. It is likely that the task type and medium (i.e. written or spoken) have influences on CS behaviour.[57] As such, the CS behaviour discussed in this thesis may or may not be representative of everyday CS behaviour in these classrooms.

Additionally, because the instructor was not present when participants were being recorded, participants may have behaved differently during the recording sessions than during other class sessions. With so much importance placed on making participants feel comfortable with the data collection, there is the possibility that participants became too comfortable and produced more switches into English than they would if they were being monitored by the instructor. Further research of group interaction with the instructor present would be required to determine whether this was the case for this study.

Instructor CS style has been shown to have a significant influence on learners CS (Zentella 1981). I was not able to observe instructors' patterns of language alternation first-hand, and the only details I have about their CS behaviour are from what respondents reported in their questionnaires. Instructor CS behaviour, however, is an important aspect of classroom CS which should not be disregarded.

[57] In many studies of L1 use in the language classroom, learners complete tasks which have a written component, and many of the examples of CS given in these studies focus on learners discussing the correctness of an utterance before writing it down (Antón & DiCamilla 1999; Swain & Lapkin 2000). The difference in CS behaviour while doing form-based vs. content-based activities may also extend to courses taught in the L2. The objectives of content-based and language learning courses are very different, and it is possible that CS behaviour would differ because of the two different foci. On the other hand, the CS behaviour of learners in an upper-level German-language content class in the same university setting (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain 2004) is very similar to the CS behaviour found in these language classrooms.

7 *Conclusions*

This study has examined the classroom CS practices and attitudes of the students of two university German language classes, with the objective of unpacking some of the controversy regarding the use of CS in the language classroom. Most second language pedagogies eschew or ignore CS in the language classroom, adhering to the common policy of using the L2 whenever possible. On the other hand, sociolinguistic research of non-classroom bilingual communities has established the positive communicative potential of CS.

The analysis of these data demonstrates that CS is largely used as a positive communicative resource in these language classrooms. CS does not appear to hinder language acquisition or oral production, but rather serves several purposes in these classrooms. In addition, CS allows learners to orient to the language choice repertoires developed in these classroom communities of practice.

Classroom repertoires of language choice and language alternation include several preferences. Members of these communities of practice demonstrate their awareness of the classroom preference to use German for task talk, conversation upkeep, and off-topic talk. Members display their awareness of these language appropriateness practices in several ways: by exerting pressure on English-speakers to speak German (follow-the-leader switching), by translating English utterances into German (repair of wrong language choice), and by signalling awareness of violations of these practices with metalinguistic comments and contextualization cues.

CS is also used in these classrooms as a resource to ensure interlocutor comprehension (with translations and anticipatory switches into English), and for conversation upkeep. For example, speakers often exploit the contrast between the two codes in order to set off quotations, accuracy checks, side-comments, and

talk about the recording equipment. Learners orient to the classroom preference for comprehensible and accurate utterances with frequent repair sequences, and they often use CS to contextualize their moves between conversation upkeep and task talk.

Members of these communities of practice also use CS for participant-related reasons, most often switching briefly into English for lexical items or requests for lexical items. These switches allow speakers to continue their turns without too much delay, and help avoid communication breakdown. In a few cases, speakers use repeated lexical item switching to evoke social and cultural meanings which would be otherwise inaccessible, as in the 'nerd' excerpt.

Learners' shared experiences, expectations, and beliefs about classroom language learning contribute to the concept of the ideal language learner, a construct against which learners often evaluate their classroom performance. Learners use language alternation to change footing between multiple classroom identities, evoking contrasts between idealized language learners and themselves, and between their identities as participants in a group activity/role play and their own personalities. Switches into English can be contextualized and interpreted as lapses into laziness, or as steps away from group work to establish the objective truth of a statement or to assert a 'real life' opinion.

Most importantly, this analysis demonstrates that learners from both the intermediate and the advanced classes – learners whose German oral skills ranged from weak intermediate to near-native – produced similar switches and contextualized their switches similarly. Furthermore, comparison of the classroom switches with sociolinguistic CS studies reveals that the CS functions and contextualization in these classrooms correspond with similar (and sometimes identical) examples produced by proficient bilinguals in non-classroom settings.

The fact that proficiency level does not appear to influence CS functions in

these classrooms is of great significance for this study. The similarities between classroom and non-classroom communities suggest that CS does not necessarily indicate incomplete or fossilized acquisition, as claimed by some pedagogical and language acquisition research (cf. Cook 2001). As sociolinguistic research has demonstrated repeatedly in non-classroom settings, CS is not directly detrimental to language acquisition or language maintenance (Gumperz 1982; Auer 1988; Alfonzetti 1998). Moreover, these similarities between classroom and non-classroom talk suggest that CS does not require explicit instruction in the language classroom, and that language learners may acquire CS skills with even a small amount of input.

Therefore, although the findings of this study demonstrate that classroom language learners use CS as a positive communicative resource, this does not imply the wholesale legitimization or systematization of CS and the L1 in the classroom. Not only does frequent CS decrease the amount of L2 input and output in the language classroom, but because learners appear to interpret much CS without instruction, it would seem improbable that further instruction or legitimization of CS would improve learners' skills.

Rather, attempts need to be made to alter learners' negative attitudes towards CS, their often unrealistic language learning goals, and their perceptions of language acquisition as inherently difficult. As informal observations of some of the participants indicate, providing classroom language learners with non-classroom models of bilingualism may have an encouraging and positive effect on their attitudes. Classroom language learners need to be exposed to other bilingual communities, in order to see for themselves how highly proficient bilinguals use CS, and in order to understand that CS is not, by any means, a characteristic exclusive to the talk of learners.

On the contrary, the CS behaviour of classroom language learners mirrors

that of much more proficient bilingual speakers. The primary difference between the two groups appears to be language attitudes and expectations. Classroom language learners' high expectations of the classroom and their often overambitious goals for ultimate attainment, together with the absence of bilingual input outside of the classroom, create learners who believe that CS is simply a sign of laziness or substandard language skills.

When the classroom is considered to be the only legitimate source of L2 language and culture for these learners, the positive effects of contact with other bilingual communities of practice are underestimated. These positive effects may include a shift from measuring the proficiency of the L2 speakers against the unattainable model of the native speaker to measuring the L2 speaker's proficiency against that of other L2 speakers (Kramsch 1993; Blyth 1995; Cook 2001), providing code-switched input for learners and demonstrating to them that not just learners switch, and giving learners the chance to realize that they are not simply substandard, fledgling speakers of the L2. The legitimization of other sources of language learning will have repercussions not only on how the L2 is used in the classroom but also on learners' attitudes. This study has demonstrated that learners' code-switched classroom talk is strikingly similar to non-classroom code-switched talk, and that CS can be used for positive communicative purposes in the classroom: the next step is to cause learners to recognize this.

8 *Bibliography*

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9 *Appendices*

9.1 Questionnaire 1

German 211/303: Questionnaire 1 for study of conversation in German language classes

Please complete the following questionnaire and return it to the researcher in class on [date]. Thank you!

First name:	Last name initial:
Degree program:	Year:
Major:	Minor:

(Please write 'undecided' if you have not decided your degree/major/minor)

Please list all of the languages you have ever learned (this includes languages learned at school, at home, and regardless of whether you still speak/understand them or not):

If you know more than four languages, please choose the four that you feel you know the best and use the most, and fill out the rest of this questionnaire by providing information about these four languages.

Language 1: ENGLISH

How did you learn English? (circle all that apply)
a.) from parents or family
b.) from friends
c.) in school (immersion)
d.) in school (as a subject)
e.) individual study (books/tapes)
f.) by going to a place where it is spoken (immersion)
g.) by going to a place where it is spoken (language courses)
h.) other (please specify):

When did you start learning English?
a.) from birth
b.) as a child (4-6 yrs old)
c.) as a child (6-12 yrs old)
d.) as a teenager (12-17 yrs old)
e.) as an adult (18- yrs old)

Please rank your competence in English.
Please fill out this chart **only if** you have **not** spoken English from birth.

	very weak	weak	okay	strong	very strong
reading					
writing					
listening					
speaking					

Overall, how would you rank your English proficiency?

beginner intermediate advanced near-native native

When and where do you usually use English?

With whom do you usually speak English?

What are you usually doing when you speak English?

About how often/how long do you speak English each day?

Language 2: GERMAN

How did you learn German? (circle all that apply)
a.) from parents or family
b.) from friends
c.) in school (immersion)
d.) in school (as a subject)
e.) individual study (books/tapes)
f.) by going to a place where it is spoken (immersion)
g.) by going to a place where it is spoken (language courses)
h.) other (please specify):

When did you start learning German?
a.) from birth
b.) as a child (4-6 yrs old)
c.) as a child (6-12 yrs old)
d.) as a teenager (12-17 yrs old)
e.) as an adult (18- yrs old)

Sometimes people take a break in learning a language for a year or several years, and then they pick the language back up again. Has there been a break like this while you have been learning German? If so, how long was that break?

Please rank your competence in German:

	very weak	weak	okay	strong	very strong
reading					
writing					
listening					
speaking					

Overall, how would you rank your German proficiency?

beginner intermediate advanced near-native native

Please rank your comfort speaking German. How comfortable do you feel speaking German ...

	very uncomfortable	uncomfortable	okay	comfortable	very comfortable
in class?					
with friends?					
if you were to travel to a German-speaking country?					

Do you plan to do anything to improve your German language skills in the future? If yes, what?

When and where do you usually use German?

With whom do you usually speak German?

What are you usually doing when you speak German?

About how often/how long do you speak German each day?

Language 3:

How did you learn this language? (circle all that apply)
a.) from parents or family
b.) from friends
c.) in school (immersion)
d.) in school (as a subject)
e.) individual study (books/tapes)
f.) by going to a place where it is spoken (immersion)
g.) by going to a place where it is spoken (language courses)
h.) other (please specify):

When did you start learning this language?
a.) from birth
b.) as a child (4-6 yrs old)
c.) as a child (6-12 yrs old)
d.) as a teenager (12-17 yrs old)
e.) as an adult (18- yrs old)

Sometimes people take a break in using a language for a year or several years, and then they pick the language back up again. Has there been a break like this while you have been using this language? If so, how long was that break?

Please rank your competence in this language:

	very weak	weak	okay	strong	very strong
reading					
writing					
listening					
speaking					

Overall, how would you rank your proficiency in this language?

beginner intermediate advanced near-native native

If you are still learning this language, do you plan to do anything to improve your language skills in the future? If yes, what?

When and where do you usually use this language?

With whom do you usually speak this language?

What are you usually doing when you speak this language?

About how often/how long do you speak this language each day?

[The same information requested for Language 3 was requested for Languages 4 and 5.]

That's the end of the questionnaire – thank you for filling it out! If there are any other thoughts you'd like to share about your language learning experiences, please use the back of this page.

9.2 Questionnaire 2

German 211/303: Questionnaire 2 for study of conversation in German language classes

Please complete the following questionnaire and return it to the researcher in class on [date]. Your opinions are important to this study, so please provide as much detail as you can for the written questions. Thank you!

First name: Last name initial:

In October, you ranked your German competence. Please rank yourself again:

	very weak	weak	okay	strong	very strong
reading					
writing					
listening					
speaking					

Please rank your comfort speaking German. How comfortable do you feel speaking German ...

	very uncomfortable	uncomfortable	okay	comfortable	very comfortable
in class?					
with friends?					
if you were to travel to a German-speaking country?					

Has your comfort speaking German changed over the last three months? If so, please give some details.

Overall, do you think that your abilities in German have changed over the last three months? If so, what has changed?

When German learners talk, sometimes they switch between German and English, or between German and another language. As you have learned German, have you ever been *encouraged* (by teachers, family, friends, or others) to switch between languages? Why do you think you were encouraged to do this?

Have you ever been *discouraged* (by teachers, family, friends, or others) to switch between languages? Why do you think you were discouraged to do this?

When you speak German in your German class, do you ever switch between German and English when you forget how to say something or when you don't know a word?

never seldom sometimes often almost always

When you speak German in your German class, do you ever switch between German and English for other reasons (other than when you forget a word)?

never seldom sometimes often almost always

Do you have a reason for switching or avoiding switching between languages? For example, are you too lazy to think about the German word? Can you talk more fluently when you switch? Or do you avoid switching because it sounds strange? Please be as specific as possible.

Think about more proficient German speakers or native German speakers you know. Do these speakers ever switch between German and English (or German and another language)? If so, please describe these speakers briefly.

Why do you think these speakers switch between languages?

Do you think that switching between languages has a positive or negative effect for language learners? Why? Please be as specific as possible.

That's the end of the questionnaire – thank you for filling it out! If you have any additional comments, please use the back of this page.

9.3 Consent form

Consent Form for Study on Conversation in German Language Classes

I am in the Master's program (German Applied Linguistics) in the Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies here at the University of Alberta. I am carrying out research on the conversational styles of students who learn German in the classroom. The goal of this research is to compare and contrast the conversational styles of classroom language learners with those of speakers who live in bilingual communities, and to explore how classroom language learners use the language they are learning to accomplish different tasks. This research also investigates the influence that learning more about these conversational modes may have on how languages are taught in the classroom. The data collected will be used in my Master's thesis and other research reports.

This study will be carried out in one German 211 class and one German 303 class. During four 50-minute class sessions spread out over the fall semester, I will tape record the conversations and group work in your classroom. When I am in class, you do not have to do anything out of the ordinary: just participate in class as you usually would. I am ***not*** interested in how good or correct your German is. I am interested in studying the normal, everyday conversations you have in class. In addition to the tape recording of classroom conversations, you will be asked to complete two written questionnaires. In September, you will be asked about your language learning history and you will be asked to self-rank your German proficiency. In late November, you will be asked to self-rank your German proficiency again.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you choose not to participate, your group work will not be recorded and any of your talk that was recorded will be disregarded. Even if you initially choose to participate in this study, you may withdraw your consent at any time. Should you choose not to participate, there will be no repercussions on your mark in German 211/303. You will not be identified by your real name at any time in reports on this research. My research concentration is the conversational style of the class as a whole, but in the case that the talk of individuals is discussed, individuals' names will be changed to maintain confidentiality.

___ **I choose not to participate in this study.**

Please check (√) each statement to show that you agree.

___ I consent to voluntary participation in this study and I understand the purpose of this research.

___ I understand that I can withdraw from this study at any time.

___ I understand that there are no foreseen risks involved in participating in these research activities.

___ I understand that my mark in Germ 211/303 will not be affected by my decision to participate or not.

___ I consent to the audio recording of my conversations and talk in the classroom, and I agree that this data may be used by the researcher in her Master's thesis and other research reports.

___ I agree that the information collected from the two questionnaires I fill out may be used by the researcher in her Master's thesis and other research reports.

___ I understand that my identity will be kept confidential and that I will not be identified in any report of this research.

Name: German 211/303 Lec A1
Signature: Date:

This study has been approved by a University of Alberta Research Ethics Board. For more information or if you have questions, please contact:
[contact information provided for principal investigator and supervisor]

9.4 Disclosure information

Information about study in German language classes

The study you participated in focuses on how and when German learners switch between German and English in conversation. Switching between languages is called "code-switching". While code-switching is often looked down upon in the language classroom, it is sometimes used by bilingual speakers to convey additional connotational meaning. A speaker who switches to English during a German conversation may switch for reasons other than laziness or lack of knowledge. Just like communities of fluent bilinguals, language classrooms have norms regarding which language should be used when and for what. In some communities, switching between German and English is a way to mark the difference between serious and joking comments, or between on-topic and off-topic comments. I am interested in comparing and contrasting how language learners and fluent bilinguals use code-switching for connotation.

If you would like more information about this study, feel free to contact me. [contact information of researcher provided]

Thank you so much for participating!

9.5 Transcription conventions

Transcription conventions are adapted from Button & Lee (1987), Have (1999), and Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain (2004).

`[`	onset of overlapping talk
`=`	no gap between turns (latching)
`(.)`	micropause (one beat or less)
`(..)` `(...)`	2 and 3 beat pauses respectively
`(4)`	length of pause in seconds
`o:h`	extended sound
`but-`	word or phrase cut off
`CAPS`	word or syllable emphasized
`°oh°`	quieter than surrounding talk
`*das`	incorrect form (noted only when relevant to analysis)
`↑oh?`	rising intonation
`↓yeah.`	falling intonation
`<you know>`	faster than surrounding talk
`>you know<`	slower than surrounding talk
`((laughter))`	description of recording, rather than transcription
`(  )`	inaudible talk
`(you know)`	talk is partially inaudible; transcription is guessed
`[name]`	information omitted to ensure anonymity
`deutsch`	German utterance (Roman type)
`english`	English utterance (boldface type)
`translation`	translations appear under each line of German talk (italic type)
`S1:`	speakers are numbered in order of appearance
`all:`	utterance/sound from the entire group of students